The War *Eight Drawings by Robert Osborn*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

June 3, 1967, 35 cents

The Dead Dropout

Janet Sideman

"Clarence Brooker, who was too smart for his own good and couldn't stick it out, dropped a bag of cookies in front of a policeman and was shot. . . . If he were not a dropout would Clarence be alive today?"

James Tobin on conquering poverty,
Pauline Kael on the comedy of depravity,
The Editors on Nasser and Israel

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Republican Death Wish

★ A GOP postmortem staff report in 1961 said "the greatest Republican falloff was in the metropolitan areas." It implored the party to win the cities: the "new Americans . . . Catholics, Negroes and Labor." So what has the party done?

► The recent National Federation of Republican Women gathering here looked like a DAR convention. Next month's Young Republican convention in Omaha is expected to elect a Goldwater far-righter.

► If there is one man Democrats want the GOP to nominate it is sinkable Richard Nixon: a poll shows 1,227 GOP county chairmen favor him; only 341 for Romney; Reagan 233; Percy, 112; the rest scattering.

► The GOP needs Negro votes; Dirksen led the fight to kill the 1966 civil rights bill. The one-man, one-vote ruling is one of the great reforms of the era; yet, Dirksen is still trying to whittle it away and has got 32 bemused state legislatures to call for a constitutional convention (only 34 needed). Every lobbyist who ever corrupted a state legislature is behind the drive.

► The GOP has held the House for only two years since 1932. They have the best chance now in a third of a century. Seventy percent of Americans live in cities. So how are they appealing to the cities? By joining the Dixiecrats for states rights. "Share federal income taxes with the states," they say, "with no strings!" That would bypass the cities.

► Republicans (plus Dixiecrats) just missed killing the model cities bill in the House, May 17, and barred expansion of rent subsidies. The vote: Republicans 163-12 *against* rent subsidies; Democrats, 159-69 *for* them (63 "Nays" from the South).

► Last week the GOP took out again after the school bill; the same formula – reduce federal control, turn lump sum payments over to the states, downgrade the cities.

Can the GOP ever learn? The 25 governors, yes – they are the live portion of the party. The congressional membership – ? Not easily; if they win they will win negatively on an anti-Johnson vote; they will be carried kicking and screaming into the White House. Why should safe-seat Republicans want to win? A leader like Dirksen has more influence under LBJ than under Ike. Dirksen supports Vietnam; by coincidence he gets nice pickings for his state: the $400 million atom smasher goes to Weston, Ill., for example, provided, of course, that Weston comes through with an open housing law – another example of hateful federal pressure.

The Clock Ticks

★ The Egyptian crisis dominates everything here. Last August Senators Stennis, Russell and Symington asked Messrs. Rusk and McNamara if the US were not overcommitted in Vietnam. Not at all! ejaculated the secretaries. Now we have a 2-pronged danger: half a million men tied down in Asia, and the Israeli crisis. Maybe the Russians will make it easier for us. Maybe. On the other hand aren't they likely to say, grimly, "We'll pull back Nasser if you'll defuse Ky"? Washington is waiting, worrying and listening. We have the oddest impression of hearing a noise; it goes tick . . . tick . . . tick . . .

President Kennedy talked about economic "myths." There are always myths of one sort or another floating around, and currently we think of two. The first is the idea that TV has made people hate war by bringing it "right into the living room"; that it has made the gore so graphic that it will have ideological effect.

We say, nonsense. The TV war is there all right, between praise for a nerve pill and a commercial for some disagreeable goo that makes your false teeth stay in better. The TV does not produce any commitment that we can see. It reduces death and sacrifice and napalm to the unreality of any other TV drama with sound effects, between tawdry commercials. You can turn them all off with a knob.

Bombing Our Way Out

★ Another myth, in our view, is the theory that polls show Americans are hawks. "They want more bombing, don't they? – then they must oppose compromise." These polls are supposed to have great weight with Mr. Johnson. Well, we don't trust them. Sure, the country wants "victory." Who wouldn't say "yes" to that on most polls? But the public has been conditioned for years to believe that bombing means victory. The Air Force and Mr. Goldwater still believe it. The Administration has only recently shown doubts. And so the public opts for more bombing to get the thing over. That's what it means.

There is some supporting evidence. We are impressed when a man like Senator Thruston Morton (R, Ky.), former Assistant Secretary of State, former chairman of the GOP National Committee, a real and respected force in Congress, takes over Dirksen's role as spokesman for his party and more and more criticizes the war. And we are impressed by *The Washington Star*. The *Star* is the epitome of the solid, substantial, family evening newspaper, almost as conservative as the old Boston *Transcript*. And without advance warning it suddenly produces a 4-column Sunday editorial, "It's Time to Stop Bombing in the North." Just like that! You could have knocked us over with a feather. Significant? Yes, we think so.

★ *Notes:* Political barometer – Romney is slipping; many think Nixon and Romney will kill each other off in the primaries, that the real race is between Rocky, Percy and Reagan. . . . News here isn't all bad – lower tariffs won a splendid victory in the Kennedy Round at Geneva; here at home, the Senate has overwhelmingly voted to launch a nationwide TV-radio educational network. . . . Economic forecast: higher wages, more boom, more inflation, tighter money, a big deficit and higher taxes.

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CONTENTS

COMMENT 1-3
Nasser and Israel

The Danger of Miscalculation – *John Osborne* 3

Slum Landlords – *Morris Renek* 4

Carcinogenic Mines – *David Sanford* 5

For Dodd and Yale – *Robert Yoakum* 6

Seven Sitting Doves – *Paul F. Healy* 8

Death of a Dropout – *Janet Sideman* 11

It Can Be Done! – *James Tobin* 14

Osborn on The War 19

BOOKS – *Reviews by Richard Gilman, Joseph Featherstone, Alex Campbell, Julian Moynahan, Irving R. Wechsler* 27

MOVIES *by Pauline Kael* 38

CORRESPONDENCE 41

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Nasser and Israel

As we go to press, May 25, there is neither war nor peace in the Middle East. If the Egyptians do mine the Gulf of Aqaba, or otherwise block passage of vessels headed for the Israeli port of Eilat, war may not be far off. It has been reported that the Secretary General of the United Nations was told by Nasser at their meeting in Cairo, that he would not lift the blockade. That is tantamount to an ultimatum.

The boldness of Gamal Nasser has surprised most observers. It had been assumed that he was playing a bluffing game to refurbish his image as the Arab of decision and destiny. He must have felt the image needed touching up. When Israeli tanks killed a number of Jordanian troops last November in a reprisal raid at Samu, and when in April Israeli French-built jets shot down six Syrian MIG's, Radio Amman in Jordan, and Radio Mecca in Saudi Arabia had taunted Nasser: "Where was he when the Jews were attacking his Arab brethren? Why did the Egyptian army, reputed to be so powerful, not move? The answer is that Nasser prefers to hide behind the protective screen of the United Nations Emergency Force, knowing that Israel will not attack him. Meanwhile, he bombs and pours poison gas on the Arabs of Yemen. . . ." In the past couple of years, Nasser's proverbial good luck seemed to have deserted him altogether. In Yemen, his troops have been pinned down for almost five years. No end, and certainly no Nasser victory, is in sight there. That is his Vietnam. All his many efforts to push himself forward as the undisputed leader of the New Africa have been to no avail; and the same may be said of his ambition to dominate the Arab world. Economically, Egypt has gone from bad to worse. Food is short, imports are even shorter, relations with the United States have never been worse, and friendship with Moscow is less and less a paying proposition, since the Soviet Union has been reducing its foreign aid. It is no wonder that in such circumstances Nasser has been restless. He had, moreover, earlier used up quite a few options. He had long ago got rid of British occupation; 10 years ago he nationalized the Suez Canal; the Aswan Dam is almost completed; he had once broken off relations with Britain and Bonn; he had refused to pay his commercial debts. About the only thing left with which he might once again stir the imagination and perhaps the loyalty of the Arab brethren was the expulsion of the United Nations Emergency Force from Egyptian territory.

The sequence of events leading up to that expulsion is as follows: The chief of the Egyptian general staff, General Fawzi, some weeks

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ago went to Damascus to inspect the Syrian army. He returned to Cairo appalled by what he had found. He reported that if Israel were to strike in force, in retaliation for the *El Fatah* sabotage raids, the Syrian army would collapse in a matter of hours. Something must be done to prevent such an attack. At any rate, should it come, with Egyptian forces looking on passively behind the screen of UNEF, Nasser's leadership among the Arabs would be gone for good. Nasser then authorized Fawzi to dispatch a note to the commander of the UN forces, demanding that he withdraw his patrols from the border and confine his troops to their camps. This demand was relayed by the UNEF commander to U Thant, who only a few days earlier had announced that he would be soon paying his first official visit to his troops in Sinai. The Secretary General summoned the UAR ambassador and asked for verification. The ambassador said nothing. U Thant then instructed his spokesman to make public a statement that any restriction imposed on the movement of the UN forces would render them useless, and that if Nasser really wanted the UN forces to leave, he had only to say so. Nasser delayed his answer but finally replied: Get them out, by which time UAR troops were already evicting UNEF from its positions. U Thant capitulated immediately, without even consulting the big powers. That was the first warning signal to the Israelis, and it was quickly followed by the movement of 70,000 Egyptian troops to Gaza, and then the blockade.

What has been Washington's response? With the war in Vietnam on its hands, the United States has far less leverage, militarily and diplomatically, than it had 10 years ago. It is playing for time – time in which to find a diplomatic, face-saving way to assure peace; the survival of Israel; the survival of what is left of moderate, pro-western leadership in the Arab countries; the shaping of the widest possible international support for whatever must be done; and finally, to prove, particularly to Israel, that the US really does mean what it has for years been saying and which Mr. Johnson reaffirmed last week: the US considers the Gulf of Aqaba "to be an international waterway"; that "a blockade of Israeli shipping is illegal"; and that "the right of free, innocent passage of the international waterway is a vital interest of the international community." The President's statement was consistent with previous declarations. In 1957, Secretary Dulles told the Israelis that "the US believes that the Gulf comprehends international waters and that no nation has the right to prevent free and innocent passage in the Gulf and through the straits giving access thereto." On May 8, 1963, President Kennedy said that, "In the event of aggression [in the Middle East] or preparation for aggression, whether direct or indirect, we would support appropriate measures in the United Nations *and adopt other courses of action on our own* to prevent war or to put a stop to such aggression. . . ." The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea declares that, "the coastal states must not hamper innocent passage through the territorial sea," and that "there shall be no suspension of the innocent passage of foreign ships through straits which are used for international navigation between one part of the high seas and another part of the high seas or the territorial sea of a foreign state." Whether or not Nasser intends to bar only Israeli ships, or all others carrying strategic material to the port of Eilat (as Radio Cairo says), is irrelevant.

But while the United States is playing for time, the Israelis are playing for their life. They went to war in 1956 because of an Egyptian blockade; they may do it again. With the Suez Canal closed to Israeli shipping, the Gulf of Aqaba is Israel's sole line between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea and its only window to Africa and Asia. The port of Eilat on the Gulf has been developed into a modern port and is of crucial importance, for the future of Israel's economy lies in the south, adjacent to the port. It is through Eilat that products from the newly developed chemical complex in Israel – potash and phosphate – are shipped out and oil brought in, most of it from Iran. Israel has no other fuel; its electricity is powered by oil. A 16-inch pipeline runs from Eilat to Haifa, the site of Israel's

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major oil refineries. A blockade is simply a knife in Israel's vitals.

It is obviously in no one's interest that this confrontation should be "resolved" by war – not only because of the human and economic costs of such a war – but because a "settlement" through war is necessarily a prologue to future troubles. What might follow an Israeli "victory"? Who then would emerge to lead an angry younger Arab generation? Who would occupy what, who would keep the peace, and for how long? From the Israeli standpoint, an embargo that may last weeks or even months would not be as costly, in the short run or the long run, as war. But Nasser may give Israel no alternative. For in the end, and the end must come soon, the blockade must go.

There are several central ideas to which we must hold. The first is that Nasser is the virus; the disease in the Middle East is not Arab socialism, but one man's Messianic obsession to lead. The second is that the survival of Israel is a responsibility of civilized nations. That is not just because Israel has become an exemplar in the Middle East of a humane tradition translated into 20th century, technological terms, but because Israel is the homeland of the Jews. The safety of that abode, in view of what the world has visited upon the Jews, is something all civilized peoples – not just Americans – are obliged to cherish. The third is that "innocent passage" is not a right that can be compromised without serious hazard to the entire maritime community. The US, let it be said, is not in the strongest moral position today to defend that right in light of our earlier blockade of Cuba, not to mention the current clamor by "hawks" for a blockade of Haiphong. But the principle is nevertheless defensible, and it should be the immediate task of the Administration to secure the widest possible support among the maritime powers for an end to the blockade; and if that is not possible, to put the blockade to the test by sending ships through the Gulf to Eilat.

One cannot now say how much support the US would find for such a course of action. The United Nations will talk and do little else; partly because of the presence of the Russians on the Security Council, but also because widespread antagonism to US policy in Vietnam means that no US-led initiative is any longer guaranteed majority support. The French have been dilatory. There is some hope the British will go along, if it comes to calling Nasser's bluff, but the first statement from London was not reassuring. Prime Minister Wilson said last week that, "If it appeared that any attempt to interfere with ships going through the waterway was likely to be made, we should support international action through the United Nations to secure free passage." But if the UN will not, what then?

We repeat: Time is short.

The Danger of Miscalculation

When Did China Decide To Enter the Korean War?

Although it still believes Chinese intervention in Vietnam is unlikely, the State Department said last week that if its guess proves wrong, the US will retaliate against the mainland "with everything it has," reports Hedrick Smith of *The New York Times*. The warning raises again the crucial question of what President Johnson and his advisers calculate will and will not trigger massive Chinese entry.

Both the official and the popular assumption is that China entered the Korean war in 1950 only after, and only because, General Douglas MacArthur's forces advanced from South Korea into North Korea and approached the Yalu border with Chinese Manchuria. Walter Lippmann in his column of May 23 repeated the story that the Chinese government had sent word to the US through the Indian Ambassador in Peking that its "volunteers" would intervene if the American and UN forces crossed the 38th parallel into North Korea, and that MacArthur and the Truman Administration brought disaster upon themselves by ignoring that warning. The conclusion drawn is that China came in for this reason, and that it would not have intervened without it. Applied to Vietnam, the analogy is that China will not intervene if the US stops short of invading North Vietnam with ground forces.

But knowledge I came upon at the time suggests that the Peking government decided at least tentatively to enter the Korean war more than a month before General MacArthur landed his forces at Inchon on September 15, 1950, and a good five months before the American forces approached the Yalu in fatally divided columns. It suggests that the determining event so far as Peking was concerned was *not* the entry into North Korea, but the previous defeat of the North Korean army in South Korea.

I completed an assignment in Tokyo and Korea for *Time* and *Life* magazines in September 1950 and was in Taipei, the capital of Nationalist China, on my way home when the Inchon landing occurred. General MacArthur in Tokyo and General Walker, the commander of the Eighth Army in Korea, had told me of their conviction that the North Korean army was exhausted, to all effects defeated, in early August when it failed in what for a time appeared to be its triumphant drive down the peninsula toward Pusan. MacArthur and Walker were convinced that, despite the black news

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still dominating the war dispatches, the issue with the North Korean army was settled during the first week of August. General MacArthur, therefore, regarded the Inchon landing and the subsequent advance northward as cleanup operations, sealing a victory already accomplished. He was wrong in the event, but not necessarily because he ignored the Chinese warning and went north. He may have been proved wrong because he and Washington ignored another intelligence report, sent from Taipei on the Saturday after the Inchon landing.

I was about to fly from Taipei to Hong Kong that day when Yu Wei, a major Chinese Nationalist information officer, sought me out and told me that a moderately ranked official in the Peking Foreign Office had defected and had arrived that week in Taipei with sensational intelligence. It was to the effect that the Peking government in consultation with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Vyshinsky had agreed *on the previous August 8*, after many days of hard bargaining, to intervene in Korea. Colonel Yu Wei had details: in return for China's committing an army of "up to one million men," the Soviet Union was to supply additional arms to sustain a force of that size in the field; to reequip and train an enlarged Chinese fighter force; to provide a modest fleet of gunboats and submarines; and generally to expand its military supply to Communist China. Vyshinsky's presence in Peking had been announced, but not why he was there. I was impressed by the date of the reported agreement, August 8, precisely when the American commands in Tokyo and Korea had concluded that the North Korean army was done for.

It being Saturday afternoon, the senior Nationalist officials whom I knew were not available. But Colonel David Barrett, a famous Old China hand and the chief American intelligence officer in Taipei, was at his office. Barrett readily confirmed that the Nationalist chief of military intelligence had passed along the information just given me by Yu Wei. He, Barrett, had talked to the agent and was convinced that he had, in fact, defected from Peking, and Barrett had forwarded the report by coded dispatches separately to Tokyo and Washington. He labeled it "believable but not confirmed."

China did field one million men in Korea, it came up with an enlarged and reequipped fighter force and it deployed gunboats and submarines which it had not previously possessed along the China coast. It caught the divided American forces by surprise and inflicted one of the worst tactical defeats in our history. I am in no position to criticize anybody for ignoring the intelligence. Who was I, on the basis of Taipei information which all too often had been more propaganda than solid fact, to question the firm opinion of General MacArthur?

JOHN OSBORNE

Slum Landlords

Grand Prairie, Texas, receives federal funds for urban housing. New York City is not yet eligible for its fair share, because its housing code does not meet federal standards. A veteran Democrat claims this neglect is due to public apathy, and a Republican comes closer to the mark when he maintains the real estate community is one of the largest contributors to the regular Democratic Party, especially in The Bronx and Brooklyn. If the city council fails to pass a new Housing Maintenance Code by August 1, New York's loss can be as much as $75 million in desperately needed government funds that are pending. With more than 800,000 dwelling units lapsing into ever-spreading slums, the proposed new code – which would also need approval by the state legislature, the mayor and the governor – is the most important housing news in years.

Opposition to the first major change of the housing code since the Multiple Dwelling Law of 1929 borders on hysteria. For the first time, one- and two-family dwellings will come under government standards. At the last public hearing about 100 landlords of small homes, largely from Queens, cheered the executive director of the American Property Rights Association, Lee Sterling, when he asserted the new code would lead to twice as many landlords abandoning their buildings. Mayor Lindsay's young and gutsy Buildings Commissioner, Charles Moerdler, observed with battle hardened humor, "The meeting was a Roman circus. You should have heard them screaming and it was for *my* blood." Councilman Robert Low, who is fighting for the new code, claims 30 percent of New Yorkers live in these smaller dwellings.

These small landlords from Queens, Staten Island, the Bay Ridge section of Brooklyn and parts of The Bronx are prone to moralizing against the ghetto population. They would consider it icing on the cake if ghetto projects dependent on the $75 million were junked while they fought to keep their dwellings free of government standards.

Under the proposed new code, the city will find it easier to get at hard core violators and the fines will be higher. Large repair work, and emergency repairs, can be done and charged to the landlord. Buildings fallen into receivership can be renovated by the city. Salvageable housing will be prevented from deteriorating to where it can no longer be reclaimed. Housing which is no longer salvageable – but which New Yorkers must still live in until it can be replaced – will be provided with minimal, safe, healthful living conditions. There will be a more decent occupancy standard for overcrowding. Janitors will be required to have skills enabling them to make basic repairs and operate all the machinery in the building. The interior of a dwell-

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ing will be painted every three years and the exterior window frames and sashes every five years. Occupancy will be banned in "temporary legal" basement and cellar apartments in tenements.

So what is so offensive to small landlords? Here is the excerpt from the Fact Sheet of the Buildings and Development Administration that is directed at them: "He must maintain his house in good repair and provide the same basic facilities and services to his tenants required of the owner of a multiple dwelling. Included is the requirement to keep the premises outside the house clean and orderly . . . peepholes and hallway lights would be required for tenant-occupied one- and two-family dwellings, just as now required for multiple dwellings."

A major breakthrough in the new code is that tenants as well as landlords can be fined – tenants for willful neglect and destruction of property. "Landlords," says Commissioner Moerdler, "do not break their own windows or air mail tons of garbage into backyards." But the code will also help to flush out slumlords hiding behind corporate shields. "Do you know," says Moerdler looking out of his downtown office window toward the Lower East Side, "that I don't know 99 percent of the owners of these buildings?"

An effort is being made to get housing violators out of the criminal court and into civil court or before a newly set up administrative tribunal with power to impose penalties. Moerdler entered office saying, "We're serving notice to slumlords, chiselers and grafters." But he soon ran up against the stone wall of judges sitting in the criminal court who did not want to treat landlords like the other criminals they saw before them every day. "But most housing violations are crimes," Moerdler insists. It takes six to 18 months to bring a landlord to court and during that time the violation remains untouched.

Moerdler in his testimony before the city council documented a nightmare case that *"would be precluded under the provisions of the new Housing Maintenance Code."* For a decade a building had violations placed against it. Since 1963 this horror structure had had hazardous violations pending. Walking into the building you see plaster peeling and crumbling off the walls. Try water faucets and you find they don't work. The roof leaks. Windows have fallen out of their tracks. Floors are broken. A pool of stagnant, disease-breeding water is in the basement. The stairways are disintegrating. There are gaping holes in the ceilings and walls. No light in the hallways. The windows are shattered and the plumbing is corroded and hopelessly clogged. This is a shortened list of the violations.

March 1966 the landlord appeared before the Criminal Court of the City of New York and was convicted of 14 misdemeanors and two offenses and fined $30. He was in court the next month and convicted of 37 misdemeanors and 14 offenses and fined $30. February 1967 he was convicted of 99 misdemeanors and 31 offenses and his fine was reduced to $15. March 1967 the same landlord was brought into criminal court again and was found guilty of 129 violations and fined $15. "For his 326 misdemeanors and offenses shown in our records," Moerdler told the city council, "he was compelled to pay a total of $90 in fines, or an average fine of *36 cents per violation.* His are not piddling technical violations . . . this building is in gross disrepair." If more proof was needed for a fair, impartial tribunal to hear housing violation cases, it came in the shape of a landlord who did not provide heat for the bulk of last winter. He accumulated a total fine on no-heat charges of $65. It was certainly, Moerdler told the council, "a lot cheaper than buying fuel to adequately heat a building for a winter. There are young children living in this building. I am surprised that many of them are still living at all. . . ."

New York's law on no-heat convictions is that a landlord can be sentenced to up to six months in jail with fines up to $1,000. But the average fine for *all* housing violations – from lack of running water to a roof falling in – *increased* last year to $14.58 per case, or less than a fine if you walked on the grass leading into the Bronx Zoo.

MORRIS RENEK

Carcinogenic Mines

A hundred uranium miners have died of lung cancer and perhaps a thousand more will die because they have for too long breathed radioactive dust in poorly ventilated mines. For the past 17 years state and federal agencies and private companies have been discussing who, if anybody, has authority to set health and safety standards for uranium mines. The Department of Labor has jurisdiction over child laborers, and can keep them out of the mines, under the Fair Labor Standards Act. What about adults? The Public Contracts Act, also administered by the Department, provides for setting health and safety standards and for inspection of work by government contractors. Since much of the uranium mining is done under contract with the Atomic Energy Commission, the law is there to be enforced. But, in the words of Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz, "no safety and health standards covering uranium mining have ever been set by the Secretary of Labor," and no inspections have been made. Why? There were no complaints; hence, the law was not invoked.

Labor and other agencies have given "continuing attention" to uranium mine safety. But Mr. Wirtz says this attention has taken the form of "studies, meetings,

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conferences and telephone calls – each of them leading to another. . . ." States and federal agencies debated among themselves who should inspect mines. State health agencies conferred with miners. Labor talked with the AEC and with Interior. Inside the Labor Department, the Standards Bureau consulted with the Public Contracts Division. Those states which have radiation exposure standards for mines set them so loosely that they might as well have had no standards. The result of all this "continuing attention" is that several hundred men are dying and some are dead. (An editorial campaign by *The Washington Post* seemed to spark Wirtz's interest. One miner interviewed by J. V. Reistrup of the *Post* in March was dead of cancer in May.)

When, on May 4, the interagency Federal Radiation Council met to formulate radiation standards but couldn't agree on anything, Wirtz finally invoked the Public Contracts Act, setting stringent standards which he frankly admits may put some mines out of business. The new standard, he says, "represents the maximum level of radioactive material to which a person can be exposed without creating some appreciable increased hazard of lung cancer above what we are all exposed to." Wirtz's admirable initiative has the support of Interior, HEW and Defense. The AEC and the Federal Bureau of Mines – with their predictable interests – would prefer lower standards, at a level which authorities say would produce a future lung cancer death rate of over three times the rate for the general population. They argue that Wirtz's standards are costly, unfeasible and that standards sufficient to make uranium mines *as safe* as other mines, but no safer, would be sufficient. They would let as many uranium miners die of cancer as coal miners, say, die in cave-ins.

Mr. Wirtz was late in acting. He has been in his job since 1962 and the law he is now applying was passed in 1936. But he has taken pains to criticize his own department's delay, and he is responsible for the new standards. In his testimony last month before a subcommittee of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, he exposed all the grisly quibbling about the absolute number of cancer deaths among miners which are directly attributable to work in the mines. *Some* deaths, he said, are enough. And he deplored the disregard for human life by an industry intent on making money whatever the human cost. "Where there is an identifiable, measurable, preventable cause of industrial injury and death," he said, "a loose health and safety standard cannot be condoned in terms of the interest of the enterprise. This is the history-old quarrel between economic and human values; and wherever that quarrel can be isolated there is only one way to solve it."

DAVID SANFORD

For Dodd and Yale

Senator Thomas J. Dodd will probably be censured by the full Senate after a debate beginning on June 13. Meanwhile, the nature of Dodd's defense tells us a great deal – more than some optimists about human behavior will want to know – about both Dodd and those who are defending him.

After a 14-month investigation, the Ethics Committee (the Select Committee on Standards and Conduct) voted unanimously to recommend censure of the senior Connecticut senator "for his conduct, which is contrary to accepted morals, derogates from the public trust expected of a senator, and tends to bring the Senate into dishonor and disrepute." Only another legislator could fully explain the anguish with which a Senate body takes such a step against a member; only five other senators have been so classified.

It is worth noting that despite the serious language of the committee, only a reprimand is being discussed; there have been no public or senatorial moves to unseat Dodd, or even to deprive him of his seniority.

What are the arguments which are being put forth in Senator Dodd's defense? There are several:

1. It is said (by the National Committee for Justice to Dodd, among others) that the original date set for the Senate debate, May 22, didn't give Dodd "a chance to make his case." It was thanks to the intervention of this group and assistant Senate majority leader Russell Long that Dodd was given an additional three weeks in which to drum up support.

The argument that Dodd lacked time to make his case – in view of the proceedings against Adam Clayton Powell next door, in view of the 14 months Dodd already had, in view of assistance he had from one of the nation's largest law firms – must have been invented by a man experienced in stating the outrageous with a straight face. Who comes most readily to mind? William F. Buckley Jr., author of at least four columns defending Dodd and an organizer of the Justice to Dodd group. Practice at keeping a poker face came early for Buckley as he defended Senator Joseph McCarthy. "McCarthyism," said he in 1953, "is a movement around which men of goodwill and stern morality can

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close ranks." My files provide no quotations from Buckley at the time J. Parnell Thomas was moved from his seat on the House un-American Activities Committee to the federal pen in 1949 for taking kickbacks from women he had hired for his own and the HUAC staff, but of course Buckley was then exposing heresy at Yale.

Anyway, the truth was better treated by Russell Long when he told a reporter that the three-week delay would permit his side – he has appointed himself Dodd's counsel in the Senate – time in which to whip up more backing from columnists and editorial writers.

2. It is said by Buckley and others in the Justice to Dodd Committee (a familiar group which includes columnist John Chamberlain, Edgar Ansell Mowrer, Lawrence Fertig, John Dos Passos, *Reader's Digest* editor Eugene Lyons) that "accepted judicial procedures and due process" may not have been observed by the Ethics Committee. We'll get to that allegation in a minute, but meanwhile let's not miss the picture of this particular crowd attempting to save the head of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee from the abuses of congressional committees. Their concern over civil liberties in the abstract is so unlikely, and their concern over abuses by congressional committees in particular so incongruous, that one is reminded of those movie scenes in which beefy, dark-jowled, nearly illiterate mobsters were dressed in top hats and tails to gain them entrance to a high society evening. Senate committees "are *not* structured to serve as courts," they admonish: "The question arises whether there *can* be due process where the prosecutor – in this case the chief counsel for the committee – simultaneously serves as the principal researcher and principal adviser for the judges – in this case the senators who compose the committee."

The Ethics Committee structure *is* an awkward one for investigating senatorial iniquity, and it is subject to abuses, and it should be changed. But the accusation of "prejudice" which Buckley levels at two lawyers and one accountant is comic. Benjamin Fern, the committee's chief counsel, may have done all he could to get at the truth under the restrictions placed on him by chairman John Stennis and other committee members, but the unusual aspect of the hearing – one on which there was much comment at the press table – was that Fern did not follow up certain promising lines of questioning, that he did not call at least a dozen potential witnesses who had basic information, that he was not even permitted to question Senator Dodd or Mrs. Dodd. In other words, while Dodd sat there supported in depth by several lawyers, members of his own and subcommittee staff and senatorial power, Fern sat there with two assistants and the admonition not to act like a prosecutor.

A footnote: One of the speakers at the 1954 dinner honoring Roy Cohn, the McCarthy subcommittee's chief counsel, was William F. Buckley Jr. We may take it that he admired this committee counsel's unprejudiced and judicial manner.

3. It is said that nothing incriminating came out of the 1966 investigation of charges that Dodd had used his office to aid Chicago public relations man and West German agent Julius Klein, and that Dodd had received favors in return. "These charges were investigated and collapsed," wrote Buckley. And Dodd, in a half-hour defense on Hartford station WTIC, the transcript of which was circulated by the Justice to Dodd group, said "they charged that I faked an official trip to Germany on behalf of General Julius Klein. This charge was thrown out by the Ethics Committee. After all the columns and all the hullabaloo and all the hearings, it turned out that there was nothing to it."

A pained voice from Chicago should have been a signal to those who hadn't read the report (nearly everyone) that the Dodd-Buckley accounts were fabrications. Klein protested on May 20 that the report "leaves a cloud of doubt over my relationship with Senator Dodd and more significantly over the sworn testimonies of Senator Dodd and myself." It certainly does do that. What the report concluded was that Dodd went to Germany "under circumstances that suggest that he was also influenced to go by Julius Klein," that Klein "sought to improve his image because he was losing his German clients," that "because a sovereign foreign government was involved" the committee couldn't get essential evidence. Finally, that "the relationship of Senator Dodd with Julius Klein was indiscreet and beyond the responsibility of a senator to any citizen, but that there was not sufficient evidence of wrongdoing to warrant recommendation of disciplinary action by the Senate."

4. It is said that no rule exists by which Dodd can be judged for his pocketing of money from testimonial dinners. Additionally, Dodd and Buckley and others have tried to turn the argument around by misrepresenting the Ethics Committee charge. "The committee then proceeded to hang Senator Dodd – and one should be very clear about this," said Buckley, "primarily because the literature inviting citizens of Connecticut to testimonial dinners did not specify that the proceeds . . . would be made available to Senator Dodd to spend as he saw fit." And in that broadcast, Dodd said the committee had nailed him because "the invitation and notices failed to state for what purpose the funds were to be used."

Again, anyone who has read the report knows better. The point is made several times that, with one exception, these affairs were presented by Dodd's field workers, in newspapers and other printed material and even in solicitation letters, as "fund raising events . . . for

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political campaign purposes." The bulk of the money was obtained through such deviousness, and that, as much as anything else, ruined Dodd with the committee.

5. It is said that the other committee charge, which was billing the Senate and a private group for the same trip, is "preposterous and incredible" (Dodd) and "frivolous" (Buckley). But it wasn't mentioned by them that some of these trips were primarily vacations, or that the Senate is concerned only with instances when it was bilked, not with the several other occasions on which Dodd dunned both his political campaign funds and private groups. In this manner, for those who take pleasure in such arcane lore, the *Reader's Digest*, the Institute for American Strategy, the American Medical Political Action Committee, and the Tyler (Texas) Freedom Forum were among the unwitting organizations who contributed to Senator Dodd's secret purse.

6. It is said that other charges laid against Dodd, both by his ex-employees and in columns by Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson, were dropped. This is a good note on which to end, for the fact is that most of them were never taken up. One that *was* taken up – the tax-free $8,000 gift to Dodd from the International Latex Corporation, allegedly exchanged for an effort by Dodd to make an ambassador of corporation chairman A. N. Spanel – was possibly what Buckley had in mind when he referred to "other charges, involving petty extractions from Connecticut merchants in return for petty favors." From a millionaire's perch, maybe that's the way it looks. Anyway, Buckley said that "on even a superficial examination, they too collapsed."

This prompts me to make the following suggestion to the Justice to Dodd Committee: why don't they demonstrate their concern for justice – for Dodd, the Senate and all of us – by pushing for an investigation of those many charges not yet examined in public? For example, how about favors exchanged with industries (broadcasting, insurance) Dodd was supposed to be investigating as committee chairman? What about other examples of money and other gifts from businessmen for whom he performed official services? Can we hear from those people for whom Dodd sought or obtained government jobs in exchange for contributions? Can we hear from those whom he placed on the Senate payroll and from whom he borrowed interest-free cash? What about senatorial services performed for clients of his Hartford law firm? And so on. *There* are some inquiries that could profitably – and honorably – occupy a committee of men committed to justice.

ROBERT YOAKUM

Seven Sitting Doves

by Paul F. Healy

Seven Democratic doves now in the Senate face reelection next year. Does their stance on Vietnam make them sitting ducks? Polls and informal soundings tend to support Sen. John Tower's view that "the mood of the country is hawkish." Alwyn F. Matthews, director of the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee, has just returned from a field survey with the impression that "the President is exercising restraint compared with the way the man in the street would like to see the war conducted. A great many people favor 'going the full distance' and doing whatever is necessary militarily to 'get it over with'."

If the voters think Johnson is "restrained" now, how will they feel next year about senators who warned him against trying to escalate out of the war?

"Being a dove is a disadvantage," says one Democratic strategist. "It can never be an advantage, regardless of what turn events in Vietnam take. Even negotiations would only bring the doves up to a draw – maybe, and depending on conditions."

Privately, it is agreed that for a senator who has doubts about the war the safest course is silence. If he is asked about Vietnam, all he needs to say is that "the commander-in-chief is the only person with all the information, and I am backing him up."

The Democrats who choose to speak out even at the risk of their political futures are Frank Church (Ida.), Joseph Clark (Pa.), J. W. Fulbright (Ark.), Ernest Gruening (Alaska), George McGovern (S.D.), Wayne Morse (Ore.) and Gaylord Nelson (Wis.). Ironically, as it now appears, they will not only bear the burden of their dovish positions but also of the man who disdains those positions – Johnson. Ironic, because while most people seem to approve of the President's creeping escalation, they don't like the President, or, as it is increasingly put, they "don't trust him." Looking

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18 months ahead, one of the seven senators glumly predicts that if the war is still on and Johnson is the candidate, "they'll murder us." Then the Republican campaign theme doubtless would be: "The Democrats don't know how to win the war or end it. The President can't even rally his own party's support. We have loyally supported the Administration's Vietnam policy but now we think it's time for a new look."

Even without the war, the Democrats will have their hands full in the Senate contests. At stake are 23 Democratic and only 11 Republican seats. And of the seven sitting doves, three – McGovern, Nelson and Clark – won by thin margins in 1962. All seven incumbents, however, have made their way in the past more as independents than as creatures of the Democratic Party. They hope that their constituencies will see their dissents on Vietnam as natural to them, and that the war will not loom as important as local issues.

For instance, for McGovern (who squeaked through six years ago only after a recount) the overriding issue is that farm prices have fallen 10 percent since last August. To hold the farmers and the small businessmen who depend on them, he will point to his authorship of the Voluntary Wheat Certification Plan and the fact that in his first term he has already moved up to fourth ranking Democrat on the agriculture committee.

McGovern's image as an independent and as friend of the farmer may offset the bad odor of the Administration farm policies and what one South Dakotan calls the "incredible unpopularity of LBJ" in the state. Perhaps the senator should consider removing the inscribed color photograph of himself and the President now hanging in his outer office. Johnson is smiling like a Cheshire cat, for he had just brought in McGovern for an advance peek at the speech he was to deliver that night at Johns Hopkins University. In it he promised a readiness to engage in "unconditional discussions" to end the war. This headline nugget was intended to shut up the likes of McGovern.

That happened over two years ago and the door to the White House has not been opened to the senator since. He has been even less welcome there since he stirred up an outcry in the Senate the day after General Westmoreland spoke in New York City. He triggered the debate when he criticized the Administration for "trying to imply that it is American dissent which is causing the Vietnamese to continue the war."

McGovern thinks that sentiment on the war in his state is about evenly divided – among those who have formed an opinion. Many have not, and are frankly confused. As for fears that escalation might bring China into the war, he wryly observes that he doesn't hear much about that – possibly because some of his constituents seem to think the United States is fighting China right now!

Clark, Nelson, Church

Joe Clark's problems are such that he may not run again. His announced separation from his wife of 32 years could hurt him in the Pennsylvania Dutch areas and with some Roman Catholics (though he has always run well in Catholic wards in Philadelphia). The state went Republican again last fall in the gubernatorial elections and Clark is pretty certain to be challenged in the primary by any one of a number of veteran Democratic campaigners. Also Clark has bluntly told Johnson that unless the war is settled by next spring neither he nor the President can carry the state.

Those who predict that Clark will run anyway point to three developments. He has been mending his political fences back home. He has stayed out of the bitter Philadelphia Democratic mayoralty primary fight. And he has taken his antipoverty subcommittee on the road all the way to California – grabbing headlines through two ambitious members, Robert F. Kennedy and Jacob K. Javits. But Clark won with only 51.1 percent of the vote in 1962, and if anything he is believed to be weaker now.

Nelson, who made it into the Senate with 52.6 percent of the vote, has made no great splash in the Senate and – until recently – has committed the sin of preferring the glamor of Washington to back-home handshaking (in contrast to his colleague, William Proxmire, who all but commutes to Wisconsin).

Having made his reputation largely as an aggressive conservationist, Nelson since last year has been trying to get his liberal image onto the highways and into the drugstores. He took the lead in pushing auto safety, with the stress on tires. This spring he went to bat for consumers by chairing Senate commerce subcommittee hearings on drug prices – an investigation that has marked him as a prime target of the free-spending drug industry. It began to work against him the day he opened the hearings. In 1968 he is expected to meet the strongest possible opposition in second-term Republican Governor Warren Knowles, who is stumping the state banquet circuit. Nelson's office says his mail on Vietnam is overwhelmingly favorable to his position, but it may be more significant that Knowles is said to be avoiding the subject. For good or ill, Nelson's dovish posture also contrasts with Proxmire, who has been making speeches in favor of the Administration's Vietnam policy.

Church, who looks as young and photogenic as he did a decade ago when he came into the Senate at 32 years old, says that in Idaho "everybody has Vietnam

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on his mind." His anti-escalation stand is not likely to gain him votes. The John Birchite elements have even begun circulating a petition demanding his recall – on grounds that he gave "aid and comfort to the Soviet Union" by supporting the consular treaty and has opposed military measures for the troops in Vietnam (Church, in fact, has voted for every Vietnam appropriation). Though the state's hard-core right wing is growing, the net effect of this kind of lunacy should be a sympathetic plus for Church.

Church has other problems. The Idaho statehouse and legislature are Republican; he is the lone Democrat in its congressional delegation. Farmers make up one-third of the population and, as in McGovern's territory, they see the Great Society as big city oriented and dedicated to reckless spending. For example, Idahoans are against the antipoverty program, the Peace Corps and internationalist measures – all of which Church has backed.

Currently, his mail is mostly wrathful about the firearms-control bill. To his constituents, a gun is not a homicidal weapon but a sporting instrument which one learns to handle as a boy; they view the legislation as a Big Brother threat to their God-given rights as hunters. Church himself opposes the bill and it should help him stress his frequent independence of the Administration.

Johnson carried Idaho by less than one percent of the vote in 1964 and could not carry it now. The articulate young man who occupies the seat of the late Sen. William E. Borah won against opposing tides both in 1956 and 1962 and hopes the tide will not be too high to surmount once more. Church's opponent may be ex-Governor Robert Smylie or state attorney general Allan Shepard.

Maverick Morse

The end of the trail is being forecast, again, for Morse, but he has been counted out prematurely many times in his crazy-quilt career. There are the old complaints that he talks too much and too long, and is worried more about Saigon than Salem. Of late it also has been said he is in trouble with labor because he has carried the ball for the Administration in seeking to force an end to the airline and railroad stalemates. Further, Morse faces the possibility of a rough primary contest with former Rep. Robert Duncan and, if he survives that, an election tussle with Republican Governor Tom McCall or Rep. Wendell Wyatt. Duncan ran a strong race against then Governor Mark Hatfield last year but may not be able to come up with the necessary funds for a primary fight next year.

"If Duncan runs against Morse, Morse will make mincemeat of him," Hatfield has said. Hatfield is grateful to Morse for having endorsed him in 1966, and Morse will benefit from the fact that his new Senate colleague from Oregon is as much of a dove as he is. Hatfield has never been known for extremism and so his dove stance should make Morse's look more respectable. In any case, Oregonians expect Morse to be a maverick. Since Oregonians like to vote for strong personalities, and since Morse has been paying more attention to them in recent years, he may well survive.

Fulbright, the most prestigious of the seven, represents one of the most hawkish states. Yet he makes no effort whatever to hide the fact that he would rather discuss world problems with diplomats and professors than lean on a fence in the Ozarks. (He has made only a half-dozen appearances in Arkansas this year.) Orval E. Faubus and Sidney S. McMath, two former Arkansas governors who have their eye on his seat, said recently that the former Rhodes Scholar is out of step with his state.

While the politically adept Faubus would give Fulbright a stiff race, few political observers are ready to bet that he could win. The Razorbacks are proud that they have produced a respected chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee as well as a chairman of Government Operations (John McClellan) and a chairman of Ways and Means (Rep. Wilbur Mills). It is a comfort for so small a state to have so powerful a troika. Also, Fulbright has used his influence to bring industry to Arkansas and has stayed "safe" on civil rights.

Gruening is an independent even among the doves. He refused to sign Church's round-robin statement designed to assure Hanoi that the doves are opposed to withdrawal from Vietnam. Gruening considered it a mite hawkish. How Vietnam will affect his reelection chances is hard to determine. His mail heavily supports him, but a senator's mail often does.

It may not matter much who opposes Gruening in 1968. His real opponent will be Father Time. He is 80 years old, albeit a vigorous 80. What may pull him through is the fact that he is a rather glamorous figure in the new state, a symbol dating back to 1934, when Franklin Roosevelt appointed him the first Director of Territories and Islands. Now he stands as a prime Alaska intellectual (he speaks five languages and has been both an editor and writer) and as a beloved leader of liberal causes.

Some Democrats who face reelection and have doubts about the war are keeping their reservations to themselves. If any of the seven doves go down to defeat because they felt it their duty to speak out, they should perhaps be counted as war casualties. They would be missed in the Senate. Except for Fulbright, they are down-the-line supporters of domestic liberal programs. And daily they personify one quality not seen often enough in the chamber – courage.

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Death of a Dropout

by Janet Sideman

In early May, newspapers reported that Clarence Brooker, age 19, Negro, was accidentally killed by a policeman in the Northeast section of Washington, D.C. A policeman was patrolling his regular beat, when he saw a group of boys milling about the street. Complaints from shopkeepers had already been received about them. The policeman stopped in front of the group and one of the boys, Clarence Brooker, dropped a bag of cookies onto the sidewalk. The bag broke, the crushed cookies were strewn over the street, the policeman attempted to arrest Brooker for disorderly conduct. There was a struggle and a chase, two shots were fired, and the boy was finally apprehended. It is unclear where he died, but the policeman was surprised that Clarence Brooker was dead at all. No one had realized that he had a bullet in his back, since there was no external bleeding. An investigation was demanded and the case is now before a grand jury. Among other items of interest mentioned in the reporting was that Clarence Brooker, besides having a police record, was also a high school dropout – one of many. (The dropout rate in the District's senior high schools last year was 12.3 percent.)

About two years ago I taught eleventh grade English in a Northeast Washington high school that had a special program for dropouts. Clarence Brooker was one of my students. The program had an all Negro enrollment. Most of the students lived in the Northeast ghetto section.

On the opening day of school I was informed that, although books had been ordered, they had not yet arrived, and I should not count on them arriving at all. When I met the class, I asked them to write about something they enjoyed doing or that interested them. I mentioned that we would have no books for a while, but if I knew what they liked, I could base class work on this. They kept asking when the books would come. I said I didn't know, but you didn't have to carry a book to school in order to learn.

The students began writing, and after about 15 minutes, some began handing their papers in. The girls returned to their desks and sat, staring into space. The boys were more restless, and some got up and left the room. Browsing through the papers, I remarked that no one had crossed anything out or erased. You expect changes in written work. All the compositions were about half a page and in beautiful "penmanship." The letters were even, perfectly formed and slanted from left to right. The right-hand margins were as straight as a ruler. The compositions could be "classified" (using the professional jargon) as those that "demonstrated skills had not been learned" and those that were "literate." Here is an example of the former:

"Well I like everyone in the class. I have no pick. I am new here but that don't mean that I take of myself. The reason I here is because I drop out of school but I well like it here. The thing that interest me most is getting of school and having my diploma so I can say that I lest finish school without having to shy."

The other group wrote pieces something like this:

My name is - - - - -. My address is - - - - -. I like school a little. My favorite subjects are English and Math. My favorite sports are softball and football. I would like to finish school and become a clerk-typist. I came here because I know how hard it is to get a good job without a high school diploma. And I wouldn't want to be referred to as a drop-out. I don't think it's going to be hard to finish school because I'm beginning to like going here."

Clarence Brooker was one of the first to finish, and after he brought the paper to my desk, he wandered from the room, returned, and roamed up and down the aisles, looking to see what the others were writing.

He had wide shoulders and was very muscular, which made him seem taller than he was. The photo of him in the newspapers gave the impression that he looked dull and impassive, but he had a very expressive face. His handwriting was clear, almost feminine because he paid such attention to details. The Os and As were perfect circles, the loops of the Ys and Gs were of equal length. His name was written in the upper right-hand corner, the date beneath it of equal length. "English XI" was in the left-hand corner, "Composition" in the middle.

"My interest is girls, booze and money, but the reason I came back is because I want my diploma. My diploma will help me very much in the future.

"My plan in the near future is to join the Air Force, and in order to join, I have to have my diploma.

"After I finish my service career, my other three interests will go into effect."

So from the English teacher's viewpoint Clarence was way ahead of the game – he was literate. That is, he conjugated verbs properly, he knew when to begin a new paragraph, he even had a good "clincher sentence,"

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and the textbook tells us this is one of the most difficult problems in writing a composition. He had followed the assignment, he told me what interested him. He even had a bit of originality left in him. One of the better students in the class. So why had he dropped out? Because school had no relation to his life.

Dropouts are like nonchurchgoers; both might feel guilty or worried, but they soon discover their everyday lives are not altered by nonattendance. They can sleep late. There are no immediate consequences, and the future? Well, that is a long way off. Who knows if it was the air force that brought Clarence Brooker back? Anyway he carried an additional burden. He had more energy than was good for him and he didn't know what to do with it. That's the last thing you want from the congregation. They're only required to know when to rise, when to kneel, and to wait patiently while the organist finds the right page.

An Experiment with Sex

A few days later I requested another piece of writing. I began the sermon by asking the class to try to put their feelings into words. If they were interested in something, they should try to examine why. My words were stilted, but 30 wary faces do not make you very relaxed. "You have a language as a means of guiding and controlling your lives, so you can express ideas and understand situations. Do you think you would be able to have thoughts without a language?" I concluded. The girls dutifully began writing their names and the date at the top of the blue-lined paper. Clarence Brooker and some boys around him started laughing and yawning. What was the trouble? Clarence answered for them. They were bored. They knew what interested them, but I would never let them write about it. Yes I would, what was it?

"Sex," Clarence answered.

"You can write about it, but since I want you to put feelings into words, you might think I was trying to pry into your private lives, and that is not what I intended. Maybe you would feel freer with something less personal." He insisted that was what they really wanted to write about, and I agreed. Could they use a dictionary? Of course, that's what it was there for. Clarence had a perpetual grin on his face and after some writing would mutter something to those around him. The dictionary was passed from desk to desk. Snickers went around the room, pounding on desks, glances to see who would begin first.

"The point of this is to use words not noise."

I was uneasy, maybe I had overstimulated them. Teachers are always warned about this. The boys had been discipline problems before, the girls were pregnant or already mothers. It is important that limitations be set. Clarence was one of the first to finish, and waved his paper in the air as he brought it up. The bell rang while he was grabbing a pen away from one of the boys who had not yet finished. But nothing was produced that was stimulating, let alone overstimulating. The majority of the papers were definitions from the dictionary, with some moralizing attached.

"Sex is a division into male and female, relating to reproductive organs. Sex should mainly be active among adults who are married, but it doesn't always happen that way."

Here is the one Clarence Brooker wrote:

"Sex is, or shall I say, can be a form of both pleasure and relaxation. To me, sex is a *need* that has to be fulfilled by a member of the opposite sex. Some people use sex as a plaything, but sex should be regarded as being essential to life.

"Birth control pills should be abolished and so should abortions. Women getting rid of children should be sentenced to jail because it's a form of murder."

Grammatically correct, and the most original within the framework of the class, but not radically different. One newspaper article reported that Clarence committed rape and other sexual offenses, but his composition gives no hint of that. It is quite respectable today to consider sex a *need*, and many people agree with Clarence's view of birth control.

The next day the students wanted to hear the compositions and I read a few. They were very disappointed. I asked them if they could explain why, since they obviously had strong feelings about things, they could not express them in writing. The listlessness had begun, the wandering in and out, the slamming of the door, tapping feet. Their explanation was that they shouldn't be doing any writing or discussing at all.

"We want to get down to work." What was the definition of work in 11th grade English? Spelling, grammar, nouns, tests. And when are we going to get books?

I went to the central English department to see if I could get a book used by other D.C. schools. There happened to be one lying around, with Eleventh Grade English on it in capital letters.

"With this type of student, your classwork must have intensive structure," I was told. "Since it is lacking in the homes, the schools must provide it."

A lesson from the book was mimeographed. The sheets were passed out, heads were bent, *Adverbs* written in the center of the lined paper, numbers one to 20 to the right of the red vertical margin line. Correct the following sentences. (1) The parts of this camp stove fit together very simple. . . .

It was very peaceful. All the pens were moving in unison, a studious classroom scene. Then Clarence Brooker was finished. If we had had books, I could have told him to begin the next lesson. He left the room,

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returned, wandered about. I told him I would correct his paper with him. Wasn't I going to grade it? I wrote an A in red ink. Wasn't I going to enter it in the record book? It was entered. Most of the students had done well. What was interesting was that students who could barely construct a sentence in a composition were able to recognize the incorrect use of an adverb in an isolated sentence. A student told me he was unable to pass the written part of the Civil Service Exam, would I give him additional work in grammar? I showed him one of his tests, where he was able to "correct the following verb forms," and substitute "I am" for "I is." Yet he always said "I is" and always wrote it in compositions. I never was able to convince him that the solution was not in additional exercises.

If the students could have defined what education meant to them, they would not have used words like understanding, ideas, or thought, for only words that could be attached to "things" had any meaning to them. They must have work. Work comes from a book and can be numbered and titled. A grade can be set down on paper and you can amass a collection of these papers to prove that you have been to school.

"Throw 'Em Out"

But what do you do with someone like Clarence Brooker, who is smart, who has this energy? He wanted work, but he wouldn't wait patiently when he finished, and he refused any other alternative. The class had been in session two weeks, and I decided to keep on mimeographing lessons for a while. I wasn't getting to know the class too well because Clarence was occupying most of my time. The wandering had developed into explosive noises. He wrote on other students' papers, he mimicked them. I spoke to him many times. Yes, he really wanted his diploma, he really did want to join the air force. He was very nice, his eyes responded to what I was saying. From a distance you would have thought we were having a conversation. You do very well in your work, maybe it's time for you to begin something new. Yes ma'am. Bring a book, any book, to class. Yes ma'am. He never did. Bring a book from the school library. Yes ma'am. He never went, he just wandered around the halls.

I asked another teacher if he had any "behavior problems."

"I never let them start," he answered. "From the first day, if there's any trouble, out they go. That's the only way to treat these kids. If you don't show them who's boss, they'll walk right over you. Besides, it's not fair to the rest of the class."

The school social worker said, "These children need authority because they don't get it on the outside. If the teacher doesn't show he is in control, it becomes very frightening for them."

I asked the principal if Clarence could be transferred to another class with a male teacher.

"We can't do it. He has to have eleventh grade English to graduate. Just drop him if he disrupts the class."

His classmates didn't have much sympathy with Clarence either. A girl spoke to me about him after class. "I know I shouldn't tell you how to run things, but you shouldn't let that boy in the class. We can't get any work done."

"But don't you think it's important that we try and see if we can't work something out with students like that?"

"I don't know about that. All I know is he's keeping me from learning."

So I hadn't followed the rules. I hadn't asserted my authority as teacher. If I could not make Clarence sit still, he had to be dropped. I had done neither, therefore he was walking all over me, which was to be expected.

"You really want to join the air force?"

"Yes."

"And you need a high school diploma to do that?"

"Yes."

"Then as a favor to me, I want you to think about something. Will you explain to yourself how you can want something badly, and yet, at the same time, do something that you know will give you the very opposite of what you want?"

"I'll try to stick it out," he answered. I had not got through at all. He didn't appear for the next few days, then came in late, left, then banged on the door glass until I started to go toward him. It dragged on for a few more days, then he was dropped. The policeman stationed in the building was instructed not to let him enter. I looked up his record to see what his other classes were and discovered that his other teachers had dropped him weeks before.

When I discussed this with other teachers and friends, I was advised not to take it personally. I didn't, and that's what made it so disquieting. I would have felt better if Clarence had been personally hostile, for

COMING: *Reinhold Niebuhr reflects on the ironies of our involvement in Vietnam*

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that would have meant he had formed some opinion, passed some judgment.

Perhaps it is useless to investigate who was to blame for putting Clarence Brooker and hundreds of other dropouts on the street. The Negro child's education must be structured, it must be consistent. So he is taught to identify abstractions with visual things on the assumption that abstractions are too much for him to handle. He then becomes dependent on material symbols and equipment, and then in the cruelest inconsistency of all, is provided with schools that have substandard equipment, and little or no material to satisfy this dependency. His private life is full of tension and conflict, so he is given work where tension and conflict are eliminated and he never learns to cope with them.

He faces inequality, therefore he is taught conformity, which is mistaken for equality. He never conceives of a class as a miniature community, where people of different character and ability have to live together. And he never experiences equality, since he must have authority, which by its very definition means that someone is above him.

Well, one May evening Clarence Brooker, who was too smart for his own good and couldn't stick it out, dropped a bag of cookies in front of a policeman and was shot. Did he know why he dropped it? The policeman symbolized authority? But this authority wasn't going to be walked over, he carried a gun to prove it. If he were not a dropout, would Clarence be alive today? Who can say? He got an A on his adverbs. He knew that the parts of this camp stove fit together very simply.

It Can Be Done!

Conquering Poverty in the US by 1976

by James Tobin

Abolish poverty by 1976 – this is the commitment Sargent Shriver urged on the Congress and the country last year. His appeal fell mostly on deaf ears, and in some quarters it was greeted by disbelief and derision. Americans can make a national commitment to conquer space by 1970 but evidently not to conquer poverty by 1976. Mr. Shriver's proposal was not foolish or even radical. It deserved a better hearing.

Poverty can be so defined that it will never go away – defined so that the Bible was right. In this sense "poverty" means nothing more than the wrong side of economic inequality. Short of perfect equality of income and wealth, there will always be people in the lowest quintile. Though their standard of living exceeds the wildest dreams of kings, nevertheless they will be poor in social status.

The Great Society is at war with poverty, not inequality. Officially poverty is an absolute not a relative concept. Hence it is conceivable that everyone in the nation can be lifted to a standard of living above the poverty line while relative disparities in consumption are reduced little if at all.

When the Administration declared war on poverty in 1964, the Council of Economic Advisers arbitrarily defined the poverty line at $3,000 a year for a family and $1,500 for a single individual. No detailed scientific justification was, or could be, offered for these round numbers. But few would deny that people with so little money were poor, and the one-fifth of the nation so described were not so many as to make the problem seem unmanageable.

Subsequently the poverty standard has been refined – thanks mainly to Mollie Orshansky of the Social Security Administration – to allow for differences in size of family. The basis is a Department of Agriculture estimate of the annual costs of minimal nutritionally sound diets for children and adults. It is assumed that total consumption expenses are three times the cost of food requirements. Now that this definition is enshrined, it will doubtless determine official calculations of the incidence of poverty in the United States for years to come. The poverty line can and will be recalculated to allow for price changes: in 1966 dollars it was $1,570 for a single individual, $2,030 for a couple, $3,200 for a family of four. But this is the only year-to-year adjustment now contemplated. In terms of physical quantities of goods and services, the poverty line will be fixed while general standards of living

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advance. Nevertheless there is undeniably a strong social and relativistic element in this definition of poverty. What we consider intolerable privation would be envied comfort in much of the world, where the problem of poverty is nothing less than the whole task of economic development and growth. In our own country when Franklin Roosevelt spoke of "one-third of a nation," he was implicitly defining a 1936 poverty line at about $800 of annual income, or $1,850 in 1966 prices. Had he used Lyndon Johnson's income cutoff, Roosevelt would have spoken of half the nation. As recently as 1950, more than 30 percent of households, *i.e.*, families and single individuals, had incomes that would now classify them as poor.

Even the Department of Agriculture's minimal nutritionally sound food budget is influenced by the tastes and conventions of the society. Many years ago Professor George Stigler calculated the cheapest way to meet the various minimal requirements of nutrients set by the National Research Council. The cost per person per year turned out to be $40 in 1939 and $60 in 1944. Even if the latter figure is doubled to allow for price increases, it is still a very small amount. Unfortunately Stigler's cheapest subsistence diets offered no relief from such nutritionally rich delicacies as flour, cabbage, spinach and navy beans.

Why Poverty Has Our Attention

Some critics of the war on poverty seem to think that they have dealt the whole idea a mortal blow by pointing out that criteria of poverty are relative to time and place. But it would scarcely be to the credit of this affluent society if it still adhered to Victorian norms of appropriate alms for the poor. If as our productivity has advanced we have lengthened the list of privations we think no member of our society should undergo, if we have raised our notions of minimal decent standards of life, surely this is only natural and proper. Similar escalation will happen in the future too. Messrs. Johnson and Shriver and their successors may conquer poverty as now defined, let us hope by 1976. Some future President will define and begin a new campaign.

However, gradual upward drift of national conscience does not explain the urgency which the poverty problem has assumed since 1963. Poverty has burst into national attention during a period of unparalleled economic growth, prosperity and stability. There are several possible reasons, aside from the creeping relativism of standards, why the poverty problem remains so stubbornly resistant to general economic progress.

1. Over the decades urbanization has made poverty more visible, and more clearly a social as well as an individual disease. Half of Roosevelt's lowest third was on the farm, compared to 9 percent of Johnson's lowest fifth. Rural poverty was bad, especially in medical, cultural and educational deprivation. But it was scattered and inconspicuous. On the farm, poor families could at least try to meet by their own efforts their primitive needs for food, clothing and shelter. A 1922-24 survey revealed that well over half the consumption of the poorest farmers was furnished by the farm in kind. In the city the necessities of life require cash. The cashless urban dweller cannot "live off the land," and his efforts to solve his problem, or to forget it, can easily transgress the norms of organized society.

2. Scientific and technological progress is the most powerful agent of improvement in living standards for the whole population. But progress itself has enlarged the relative number of people who cannot work. Today one-third of poor individuals or family heads are aged 65 or over, and 40 percent of the aged are poor. A half century ago many of these would have died before they became too old to work. In 1900 only 4 percent of the population, and in 1930 only 5.5 percent was 65 or over, compared to 9 percent today.

Households with female heads are another poverty-prone group that has grown in relative frequency; they are 20 percent of all households now compared with 13 percent in 1930 and 12 percent in 1900. Today households with aged or female heads account for 60 percent of the poor.

3. The marvelous products of modern technology – plumbing, electricity, cars, telephones, TV, plastics – have undoubtedly brightened the lives of almost all Americans, poorer as well as richer. But the society's total commitment to them has made them virtual necessities. They are almost compulsory improvements in the quality of life; poor or rich, we have little choice but to accept them and pay for them. In some degree this is the result of emulative pressures heightened by the new technology itself. For example, the children of the poor have to conform to social norms in clothing, in TV watching, and in consuming TV-advertised products. But there are more direct compulsions, too. Legal and social norms make it quite properly difficult for occupants of urban housing to avoid the costs of modern sanitation, central heating and electricity. In an automobile society public transportation declines in quality, availability and economy. When the whole society is geared to communication by telephone, it is more than inconvenient to be without one.

The result is that the impact of technological progress on poverty living standards is more complex than

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the story told by our usual measures of income corrected for changes in cost of living indexes. In many ways families of $3,000 income in the US today are much better off than families of "equivalent" real incomes in previous decades, or in other countries. But these improvements are not easily convertible into greater command over the conventional necessities of food, clothing and shelter. Over these basic necessities the family with $3,000 a year today has, once it has paid for the social necessities, less command than a family of equivalent real income 20 or 40 years ago.

4. Urban congestion is another by-product of industrial progress whose costs are not subtracted from our usual measures of economic gains. Although population density within cities has not in general been increasing, more people are subject to the crowding of urban life. The costs far exceed those registered in the rent component of a consumer price index. A square foot of floor space in an urban tenement is quite a different thing from a square foot of a one-family house on a large lot in a suburb today or in a small town or a farm 40 years ago. Crowding deprives the individual of control over his environment, its appearance, safety, cleanliness, noise level. These are determined by his neighbors and by the quality of municipal services voted by more affluent taxpayers who feel the needs less acutely.

5. These factors help to explain why there remains in the United States, relative to other times and other places, a larger problem of poverty than our remarkable recorded progress in raising real incomes would suggest. They do not explain why the problem became so salient a claim on the national conscience so suddenly in the 1960's. That was surely the result of the Negro civil rights movement. According to the official reckoning, 23 percent of poor individuals and families are nonwhite. The chances that a Negro family is poor are about four times the probability that a white family is poor.

Until the 1960's there can be little doubt that the nation, north and south, had a double standard of poverty. Most Negroes were just expected, in the nature of things, to be poor by white standards. Generally speaking, even those who hoped for eventual improvement of the Negroes' lot did not think it was either necessary or possible to speed up the slow process. When Negroes successfully pressed their claim for full equality of American citizenship, the psychological size of the poverty problem increased sharply.

Poverty as now defined can be eradicated in the next 10 years. Its conquest is certainly well within the economic capacity of the country, but it will take stronger political commitment and resolution than we have yet mustered.

What are the elements of a successful campaign against poverty in the United States?

1. *Economic growth* is still our most potent weapon. The manner in which economic progress has reduced the incidence of poverty, by today's standard, is shown in the table, which reports the percentage of American families with incomes below the purchasing power equivalent of $3,000 a year today. For the reasons given above, however, the story is more complicated than figures of this kind can tell. Per-capita real income

Percentage of families with annual incomes below $3,000 – 1965 dollars

1965	17%	1935-36	51%
1960	20%	1918	63%
1950	30%	1896	67%

can continue to grow at a rate of from 2.5 to 3 percent per year. By 1976 this means a cumulated increase of 28 percent to 34 percent. Assuming that the relative income distribution remains unchanged, the incidence of poverty by today's official absolute standard would decline from 19 percent to 11-13 percent of the population (from 17 percent of families to 10-12 percent). It is because this is not good enough that we need other measures.

2. Maintaining *full employment* is necessary to realize the potential growth of income. Indeed, if we avoid recessions and gradually raise our concept of full employment to correspond to 3 percent unemployment instead of 4 percent, we can probably improve the growth rate. Moreover, a steadily tight labor market, with many job vacancies and few unemployed, is particularly advantageous for the poor. When labor is hard to find, employers will assume hiring risks and training expenses that they otherwise avoid. Only in a tight labor market will marginal workers – the unskilled, undereducated, inexperienced, part-time, temporary, old, disabled – find jobs and good wages.

3. Eradicating *racial discrimination* is an end in itself, but it is also an essential element of the war on poverty. Some Negroes are poor because employers or unions keep them out of jobs for which they are qualified or capable of being trained. Some are poor because inferior education has not equipped them to compete for decent jobs. Some are poor because residential discrimination forces them to pay excessive rents, prices, and commuting costs and confines them to neighborhoods where their educational and cultural disadvantages are perpetuated.

Some readers may wonder whether ending discrimination will not simply redistribute poverty – though more equitably – rather than reduce its incidence. The fact is that discrimination imposes a significant national cost, the loss of output from failure to use fully and to

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allocate efficiently the latent capabilities of Negroes. This cost has been estimated at 4-5 percent of total personal income by the Council of Economic Advisers and by others. For this reason, ending discrimination is not just a redistributive measure. The gains to Negroes will be greater in total than the losses that racially blind competition imposes on whites. Competition of Negroes will slow down the increase of wages and incomes in professions and skilled trades where they are now excluded, but this will certainly not doom the other members of these crafts to unemployment, unskilled employment or poverty. Meanwhile reduction in the supply of unskilled workers will raise their wages, indirectly benefiting many Negroes who themselves cannot or do not cross any of the lowered barriers to other occupations.

4. One element of poverty is the deficiency of *public services* in congested urban environments – sanitation, street cleaning, police protection, pollution control, parks and recreational facilities, schools, clinics and hospitals. Ways must be found to finance an increase in the quantity and quality of these services. State and federal help is needed, and the residents of satellite suburbs will have to take some special responsibility for their central cities.

Some undersupplied municipal services use relatively unskilled labor, and special financial help to expand these services would meet a double purpose. Our cities could certainly be more pleasant with cleaner and better kept streets, walks, parks, stations, museums, public buildings. At the same time as local governments lack the funds to do a better job, many of the residents of their slums and ghettos cannot find jobs. The President's Commission on Technology and the American Economy proposed that the federal government finance local governments and nonprofit institutions to be "employers of last resort," providing a job to anyone who can't find one elsewhere. A job guarantee of this kind involves a host of practical problems: making sure that work forces of uncertain and fluctuating size and composition are efficiently and constructively used, that membership in them is really a job rather than a disguised and cumbersome dole, that the workers are available for other job offers. These may prove soluble. But in any case much of the desired effect could be obtained simply by financing an expansion of labor-intensive municipal services.

5. The war on poverty, as fought by the Office of Economic Opportunity, is mainly a set of measures for *individual habilitation* or rehabilitation – "Headstart" for young children, the Job Corps for high school dropouts, the Neighborhood Youth Corps for unemployed teen-agers, vocational training and retraining on and off the job for adults, basic education for adult illiterates. This case-by-case approach is fundamental. There is no other way to raise the personal earning capacities of the lowest fifth of the population. But the size of the task is staggering. Mr. Shriver hoped during the current fiscal year to reach, in lesser or greater degree, 30 percent of the Headstart universe, 10 percent of impoverished youths, 3 percent of adult illiterates, 10 percent of adults in need of work and vocational training. Not all of these contacts will be substantial, and not all will be successful. Unless the programs are greatly expanded most of the poor, especially the more difficult cases, will never be involved.

6. These five forces will gradually diminish the percentage of the population who cannot provide by their own efforts a decent living for themselves and their families. But even in 1976 there will be a sizable residual group for whom direct *public assistance* is necessary. Unfortunately the present system of public assistance in the United States is a national disgrace. It is a force for the perpetuation of poverty rather than its elimination. An urgent requirement of the war on poverty is a basic reform in the nation's system of income assistance, a reform with a twofold purpose: to give adequate aid to everyone in need, and to give it in ways that provide incentives for work and self-reliance.

Main Defects of the Present System

Inadequate coverage The vast majority of the nation's 11.5 million poor households receive no public assistance. Most are eligible only for old-fashioned town relief, and for that only if they meet stringent requirements of residence and other tests of eligibility. Able-bodied adults are not eligible for federally aided public assistance unless they are over 65 or have dependent children. Families with children and two parents are ineligible for Aid for Dependent Children when the father is employed, and even in most states when he is unemployed. The theory of these exclusions was that able-bodied men can and will take complete financial responsibility for their families. It hasn't worked out that way. Many men just cannot earn enough from jobs available to provide for their families; the children would be better off on the public assistance for which the father's presence disqualifies them. The present law is an incentive to desert, to evade family responsibilities rather than to assume them.

Inadequate benefits Even for those who fall in the favored categories, benefits are rarely adequate. Although the federal government pays 60 percent of the cost of Aid for Dependent Children, most states do not even meet their own standards of a minimally decent budget. Northern industrial states do better than Southern rural states (New York pays an average of $50 per

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month per person, Mississippi $8), accentuating migration into urban ghettos.

Perverse incentives As administered, public assistance destroys incentives to work, to train for work, and to save. Benefits are reduced dollar for dollar of earnings or of savings. Designed to husband the taxpayer's money, these rules impose a 100 percent tax on self-reliance.

Excessive administration Enforcement of the means tests – the prevention of "cheating" – is too often the dominating administrative concern. This is combined with petty surveillance over details of the recipients' expenditures and lives. The administration of public assistance is an expensive and impossible task, demoralizing to case workers and their clients alike. In addition to programs of public assistance in cash, we are multiplying parallel systems of assistance in kind: food stamps, subsidized housing, Medicaid programs. There are many possibilities for confusion and for perverse incentives when each program has its own eligibility requirements and income tests.

How To Do It

What can be done about it? The total income deficiency of the poor, estimated at $11 billion a year, is not a formidable amount. It is 1.5 percent of Gross National Product; it is one-and-a-half year's normal *growth* of federal revenues; it is half the annual cost of the Vietnam war. It might seem, therefore, that a transfer to the poor well within the means of affluent taxpayers could eliminate poverty overnight. But things are not so simple. If the government guaranteed to make up fully any deficiency between a family's income and $3,000, then the family would have no incentive to earn part of that $3,000 on its own. Like the means test in public welfare today, the loss of government payments would make the family subject to a 100 percent "tax" rate on earnings. Such an arrangement would greatly increase the income deficiencies to be made up by the government guarantee. Any guarantee of this kind, besides being devastating to incentives for self-reliance, would cost much more than $11 billion.

There is a constructive alternative, but it is also expensive. Leon Keyserling did not do the cause of income guarantees a service by underestimating their cost in a recent article in this journal. Government benefits must be scaled to income so that a family that earns an extra dollar loses only a fraction of it, *e.g.*, a half or a third, in reduced benefits. There are two basic ingredients of such a plan: the *income guarantee* – *i.e.*, the benefit paid to a family with no other income – and *the tax rate* – the amount by which the benefit is reduced for each dollar of other income. The guarantee must be high enough to eliminate poverty for families with no income, and the tax rate low enough to provide incentives. One inescapable implication is that government payments will be made to people above the poverty line. For example, if the guarantee for families of a certain size is $3,000 and the tax rate is 50 percent, families with a $3,000 earned income of their own will get a $1,500 supplement from the government, and the supplement will not vanish altogether until earned income reaches $6,000. It would be much better to have a lower tax rate, say 33⅓ percent, but this would increase the cost. An adequate plan with reasonable incentives will cost $20 billion to $30 billion.

Incentive income supplements are oriented to able-bodied adults of working age and their families. Seven million such households are poor. Of these, four million are headed by males. (Since virtually all of these are excluded by eligibility requirements from federally aided public assistance programs, it is scarcely surprising that a recent highly publicized survey found that only one percent of the beneficiaries of these programs are able-bodied adult males.) Work incentives are also important to female heads of households, and to potential secondary workers in families. The federal Social Security system, specifically Old Age Survivors Disability and Health Insurance, can handle the income needs of social insurance beneficiaries. Coverage and minimal benefits can be increased enough to take all old people out of poverty. Similarly, categorical assistance programs for blind and disabled people can be continued. The urgent reform is to establish an adequate universal system for helping other adults and their children along the road to self-sufficiency.

President Johnson announced in January that he will appoint a commission to study these matters. Once the commission concludes that a major reform is necessary, and it is inconceivable that it should conclude otherwise, it will face many issues of detail. How should a new system be meshed with the federal income tax? What should be the roles of existing federal, state and local welfare administrations and of the Internal Revenue Service in operating a new system? Should it be a federal system with nationally uniform benefits, or should partial state financing, with variations among states in benefits and standards, be continued? How should the guarantee allow for size of family? How should specific government efforts to improve housing and medical care be related to general income assistance?

The conclusions of the commission, expected in two years' time, and the response of public and congressional opinion to them, will be extremely important. If we seize the opportunity for a far-reaching reform, even at considerable initial budgetary cost, we can win the war on poverty by 1976.

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Osborn on The War

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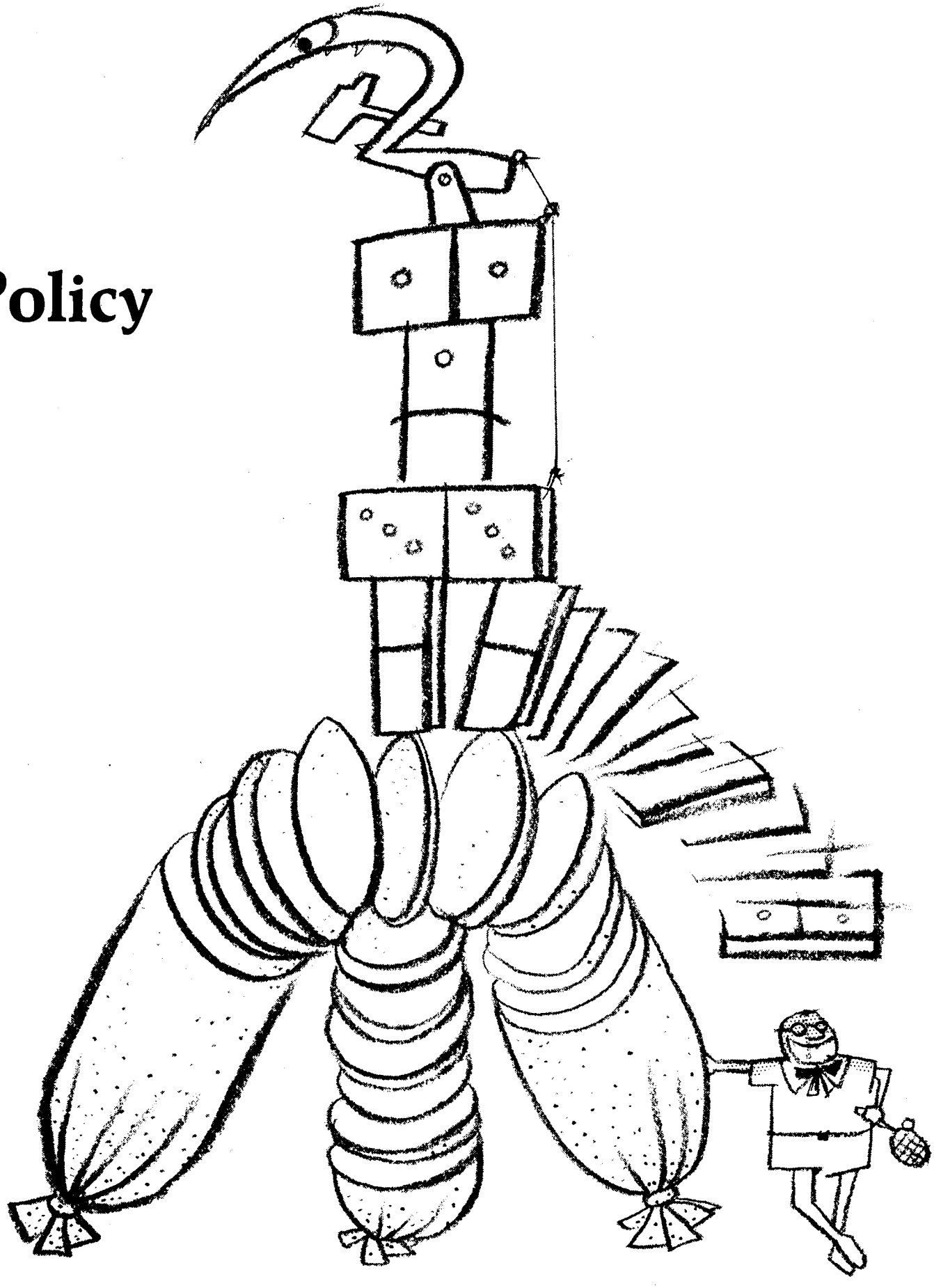
Policy



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Consensus

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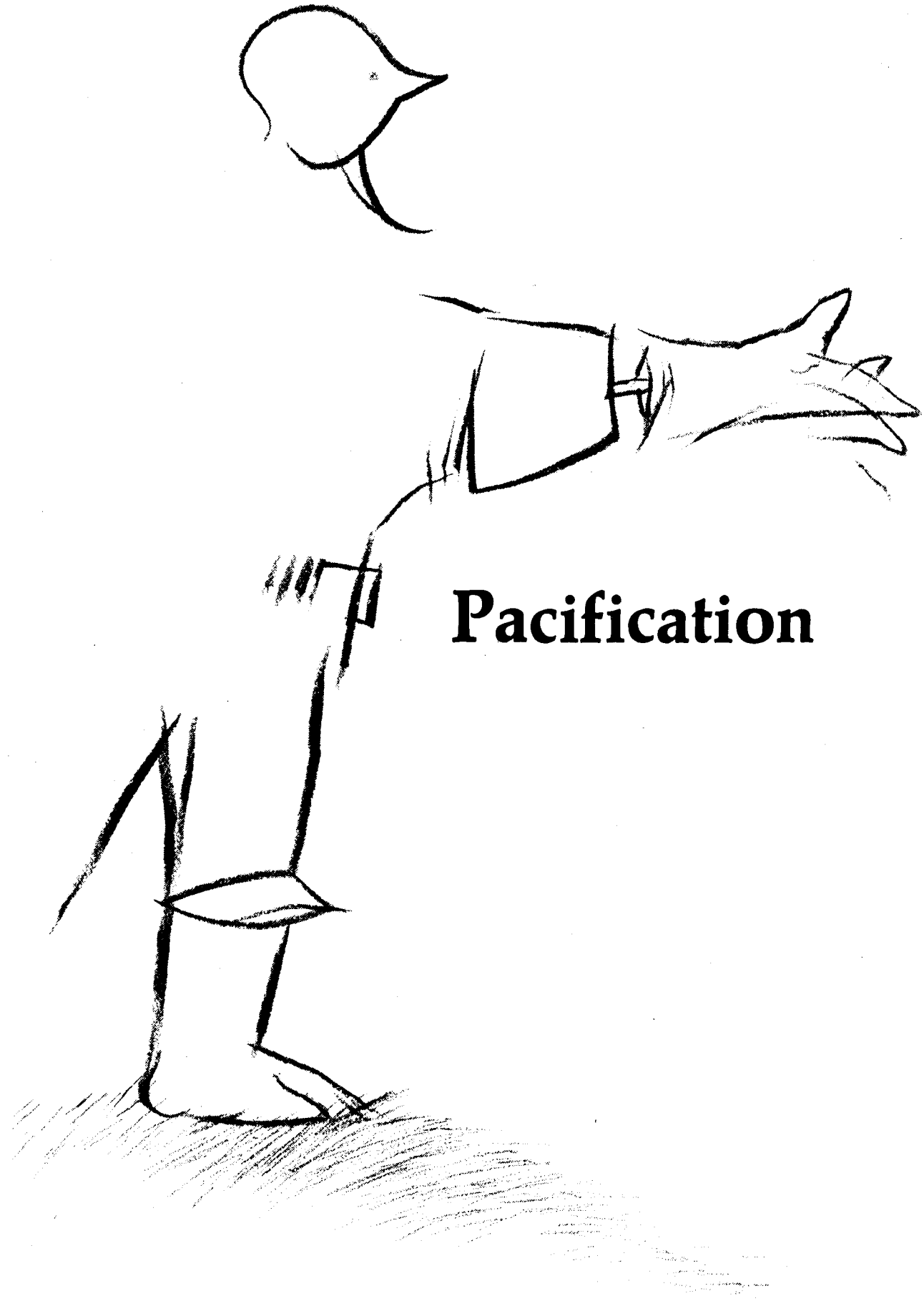

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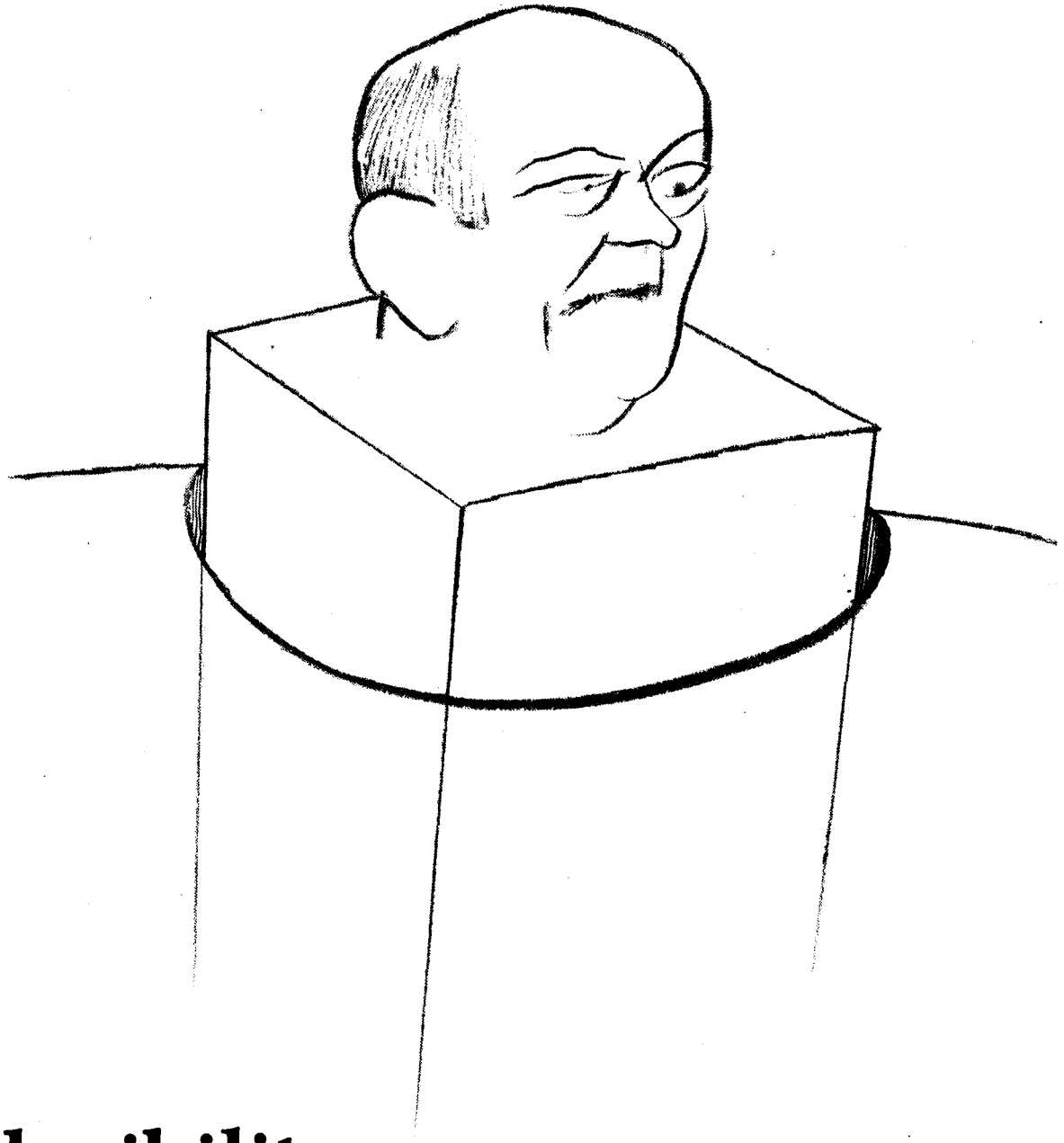

Flexibility

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Professional

General
Westmoreland

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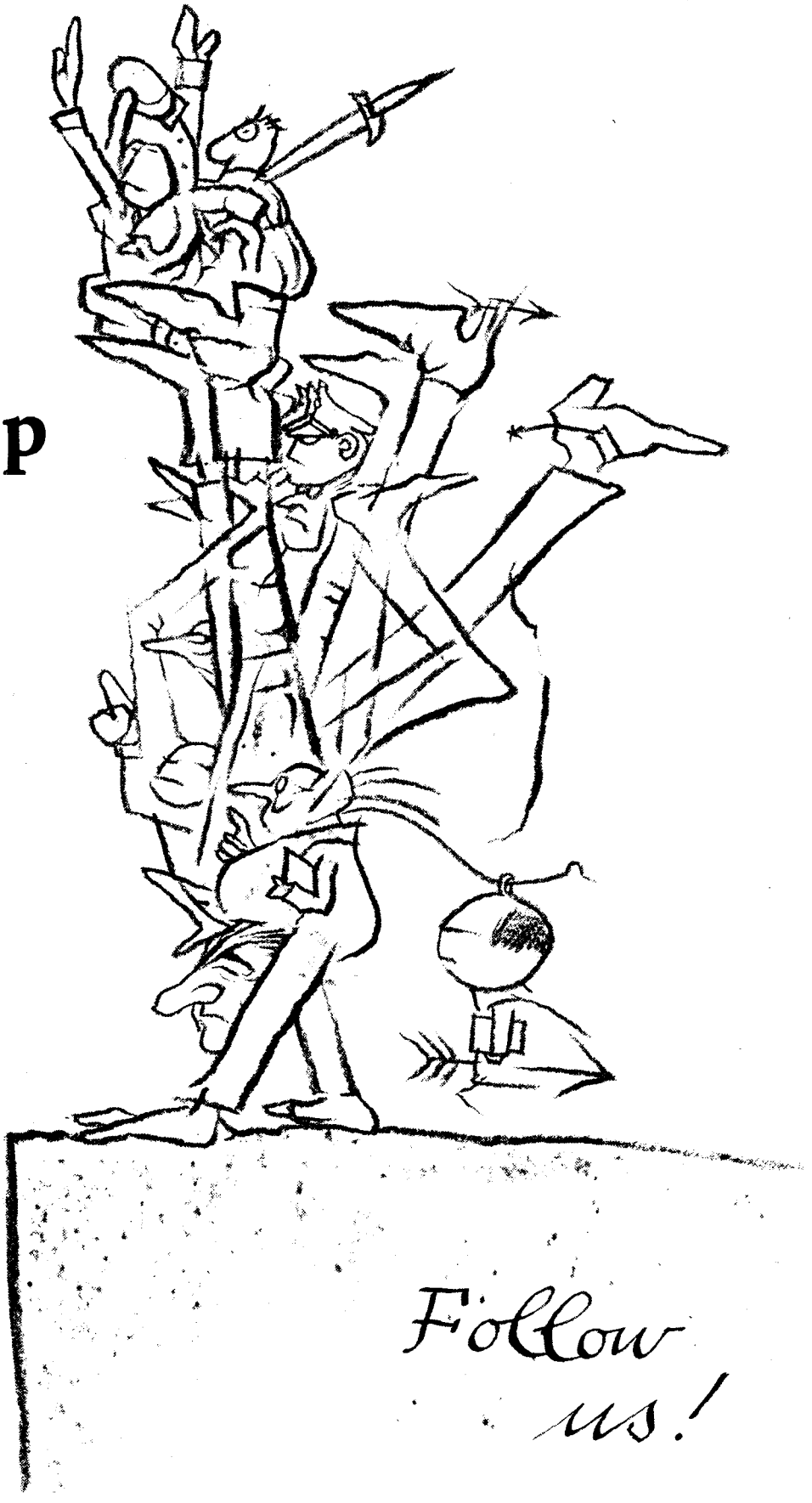
Leadership



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Barthelme's Fairy Tale

by Richard Gilman

"It is one of the peculiarities of the imagination," Wallace Stevens once said, "that it is always at the end of an era. What happens is that it is always attaching itself to a new reality and adhering to it. It is not that there is a new imagination, but that there is a new reality."

My occasion for quoting Stevens is the publication of Donald Barthelme's

Snow White
by Donald Barthelme
(Atheneum; $4.50)

first novel, a work thoroughly recalcitrant to being discussed in the habitual language of journalistic criticism. One of a handful of American writers who are working to replenish and extend the art of fiction instead of trying to add to the stock of entertainments, visions and humanist documents that fiction keeps piling up, Barthelme has previously published a volume of short stories, *Come Back, Dr. Caligari*, of exceptional technical interest and uncategorizable élan. Like those stories, his novel may be read by ignoring Stevens' dictum, read, that is, as the work of a highly idiosyncratic imagination, a *new* imagination, popping up like a wild-crested tropical bird in our parlors. But to do that would be to truckle to the imagination in its quest for novelty, eccentric fame, autocratic rule; like any other's, Barthelme's possesses that impulse. And yet its truest accomplishment is to be representative, to adhere with consciousness, craft and potency to a new reality.

In the most summary way this new reality can be described as being open-ended, provisional, characterized by suspended judgments, by disbelief in hierarchies, by mistrust of solutions, denouements and completions, by self-consciousness issuing in tremendous earnestness but also in far-ranging mockery, by emphasis on the flesh to the anachronization of the spirit, by a wealth of possibility whose individual possibilities tend to cancel one another out, by unfreedom felt as freedom and the reverse, by cults of youth, sex, change, noise and chemically induced "truth." It is also a reality harboring a radical mistrust of language, writing, fiction, the imagination. For the literary imagination whose native land all this is, so that it has itself partly been shaped by it, the problem is to adhere (as Stevens also said) without being compliant, to resist at the same time as it stays in connection, and to find in that tension the foundation of its would-be art. All writing fails when it slips out of one of those two obligations.

Irrelevant literature is that which refuses reality, conformist that which accepts it too readily. But even that writing which appears to be taking the most daring line toward a confronted reality may actually be serving its valetudinarian interests instead of its liberation in and through the imagination.

The trouble with much so-called "black humor" or "absurd" writing or neo-surrealism (under one of whose tags *Snow White* is certain to be wrongly fixed) is that in some sense it remains subservient to the actuality from which it draws its instigations and energies. The imagination's exotic bird beating at the end of a long string, it stirs up the air but leaves it afterwards as it was. Superficially, we might say thematically rebellious, it remains artistically Tory, holding on to one or another conception of beauty, to tension and development, to character, story and plot, to moral or social or psychological "significance."

There are of course great risks in trying to make fictive art without those things: you can fall into chaos or impenetrable murk, or into total sterile abstraction. Popularity isn't likely to drop into your lap. But *Snow White's* ambitions being what they are, it runs the risk most nakedly, and suffers an immediate loss. If it weren't, for instance, for its refusal to be a "novel," a story proceeding, however wildly or wondrously, like any other, it might well become the *Catcher in the Rye* of this generation. For its "content" includes the substance of our age's newest awarenesses and pre-awarenesses, its behavior and bemusements, its vocabularies, costumes and stances, and especially those of the disaffiliated young, the disabused and not-again-to-be-taken-in.

But it is a double thing, as Salinger's book couldn't quite manage to be. Its structure adheres closely to the movements and pressures of our new reality, but at the same time it shapes itself into an independent object, not to be exploited for extra-literary purposes and not to be accounted for by extra-aesthetic principles. High-handed, unaccommodating, it fashions a critique of everything it seizes, refusing to become a literary myth for these things (for disaffiliation as in Salinger, for example), putting them to other uses than explanation, morale-building or the erection of new, putatively redeeming beauty.

On its most available level *Snow White* is a parodic contemporary retelling of the fairy tale. The only thing resembling a narrative is that the book does move on to fulfill in its own very special way the basic situation of the fairy tale. But Barthelme continually breaks up the progression of events, switching horses in mid-stream, turning lyricism abruptly into parody, exposition into incantation, inserting pure irrelevancies, pure indigestible fragments like bits of stucco on a smooth wall, allowing nothing to *follow* or link up in any kind of logical development. Few of the "chapters" are more than one or two pages long (some are two lines) and there are frequent chapter-heading-

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like passages, set in large black uppercase, with messages of surpassing inconsequence or misinformation:

> THE REVOLUTION OF THE PAST GENERATION IN THE RELIGIOUS SCIENCES HAS SCARCELY PENETRATED POPULAR CONSCIOUSNESS AND HAS YET TO SIGNIFICANTLY INFLUENCE PUBLIC ATTITUDES THAT REST UPON TOTALLY OUTMODED CONCEPTIONS.

What emerges through the seeming chaos of styles and procedures, the irrelevancies and non sequiturs, is a set of determinable facts. In a house in an unnamed city seven men – Bill, Dan, Hubert, Kevin, Henry, Edward and Clem – live with Snow White, whom they have found in a forest before the book begins and who is now twenty-two and of course beautiful. Each day the seven go out to work ("Heigh Ho") "filling the vats and washing the buildings," while Snow White keeps house, cooks and awaits their return, whereupon sexual activity presumably takes place, although it is never more than ironically hinted at. At a later point two more "characters" complete the original dramatis personae: Jane, a young woman who is the witch figure, and Paul, the prince whom Snow White is waiting for.

From the beginning we are aware that the fairy tale is undergoing a modernization, becoming the up-to-date expression of a change in human typology and self-estimation. " 'I am princely,' Paul reflected in his eat-in kitchen." But he is not princely. It is one of Barthelme's central purposes to establish that princes no longer exist, in a crucial double sense. As a figure in reality – the strong, decisive man, the prince of good fellows – he has been driven out of existence precisely by contemporary life, with its neuroses, communal psychological tyrannies and violent self-consciousness; and as a literary figure, the hero, he can have no stature because the reality he has been abstracted from no longer sustains the values necessary to his creation.

Reality no longer sustains the values necessary to the creation of Snow White, either, or the witch or the dwarfs. There is therefore no happy ending to this *Snow White*, no denouement except one that mocks the original's, no satisfaction to be obtained from a clear, completed arc of fictional experience. Fiction, Barthelme is saying, has lost its power to transform and convince and substitute, just as reality has lost, perhaps only temporarily (but that is not the concern of the imagination), its need and capacity to sustain fictions of this kind.

Everything therefore works to undermine the données of the fairy story, to prevent it from retracing its classic parabola. Thus Snow White, the least self-conscious figure in literature, is here full of self-consciousness of an exact and tragi-comic contemporary kind. "Who am I to love?" she asks herself about her inability to requite the seven men. "Is there a Paul," she muses "or have I only projected him in the shape of my longing, boredom and pain . . . is my richly appointed body to go down the drain at twenty-two?" As for Paul himself, he is locked in grotesque incapacity to fulfill his destiny, which is of course to *reach* Snow White, to rescue her by his prowess and fertility from her condition of potentiality. At one point he sets up an underground observation station, complete with systems of mirrors and trained dogs, so as to spy on her; at another he enters a monastery; in the end he drinks the poison intended for Snow White. He is, as she finally sighs, not a prince but "pure frog," he is incapable of being conjured into heroic form. There is an exquisite irony in the description of him as "a well-integrated personality . . . he makes contact . . . a beautiful human being."

This desperate, comic losing struggle of the characters to fulfill their classic roles – the seven men, for instance, are continually afflicted with misgivings, jealousies and strange psychosomatic ailments – is the outcome of a mocking humanization fatal to their existence as archetypes and of a dissolution of their story's clean, utilitarian, wish-fulfilling dream-logic into ambiguity, dissonance and fragmentation. In Grimm each of the major personages (the dwarfs being considered as one) is wholly and purely a representative, an incarnation: Snow White of beauty and abused innocence, the witch of envy and malice, the prince of redemptive strength and the dwarfs of selfless service. For Barthelme's imagination these exemplary careers are agencies of an acute and devastating skepticism.

But at the same time they are material for a new literary action by which literature itself is made to expose the bankruptcy of its traditional, normative procedures, so that new literature might be formed on the dead ground. Fiction, Barthelme assumes, can no longer be (if it ever wholly was) the "expression" or "interpretation" or simulacrum of life and its values. Nor can it be the reader of its secret thoughts, nor the vehicle of surrogate emotions or aspirations nor in fact of experience of any kind except an aesthetic one. There ought not be a logic of fictional event, fulfilling reality's reputed craving for a compensation for its own ill-logic; fiction cannot be the savior or map-maker of reality, nor the cicerone through its confused travels. And finally, fiction ought not be an employment of language for ends beyond itself, but language in its own right, mysteriously saturated with reality, perpetually establishing a new synthesis of reality and the imagination and doing this partly by driving out all language which has accomplished an earlier synthesis.

In one of his frequent dead-pan pseudo-scientific passages, Barthelme has the manager of a "plastic buffalo hump" factory talk about the accumulation of trash in the world. "We're in humps right now . . . from a philosophical point of view," he says, because since trash is accumulating at a rate which will soon reach 100 percent of everything there is, men will have to learn how to "dig" it, and "what in fact could be more useless or trash-like" than humps? From this he moves on to a reference to "those aspects of language that may be seen as a model of the trash phenomenon." In another passage Snow White complains: "Oh I wish there were some words in the world that were not the words I always hear!" And in still another reference to the pressure of language deadening, hardening, turning to trash, to discarded actuality, Paul says: "I would wish to retract everything if I could, so that the written world would be. . . ."

What it would be is, hopefully, here,

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in *Snow White*. A landscape filled with the dissolving remnants of earlier literary landscapes (there are parodies of Shakespeare, Rimbaud, Eliot and others), a battleground for old beauty and new form (which is always partially ugly since it rises in the face of sanctified notions of beauty), the book makes its way by dealing steadily with the problems of language. One "retracts" what the written world has been composed of not by ignoring it, by writing new language, but by discrediting it as the answer to one's own contemporary needs. So Barthelme retracts the fairy story by discrediting its operation now, and so Picasso, to take an example from another medium, retracted representationalism by discrediting its claims to be what art has to be.

To this end, Barthelme composes his book in a variety of styles, although if there is a predominant one it is a flat, arch, professorial tone, elevated and full of pseudo-precision, exactly suited to his mock-learned treatment of the fairy story: "Bill can't bear to be touched. . . . We speculate that he doesn't want to be involved in human situations any more. A withdrawal. Withdrawal is one of the four modes of dealing with anxiety." But he is also a minor Joyce, with a mastery over a great diversity of vocabularies – hip talk, academic cliché, pure or communal cliché, advertising jargon, novelistic "eloquence" – and he employs them for ironic purposes, releasing through their juxtapositions and their fish-out-of-water helplessness as literary instruments a comic sense of reality's lugubrious, perpetually renewed struggle to express itself. But at the same time he incorporates them into the substance of his new literary act.

Similarly, he incorporates into his work a great many data, events, names, sociological fads and intellectual fashions, using them for both satiric purposes and aesthetic manipulation. Throwing these heterogenous contemporary phenomena helter-skelter into the book, he proceeds to fashion a net full of red herrings. From Teilhard de Chardin's nooisphere to Red China's Peoples Volunteers, from hip enterprises like "freaking out" or "blowing one's mind" to psychoanalysis, hard-edged painting, motorcycle

FIRST I TURN TO STEPHANIE HARRINGTON, SALLY KEMPTON, AND SUSAN BROWNMILLER TO FIND OUT WHAT'S NEW WITH POT, PORNOGRAPHY, AND THE WOMEN'S HOUSE OF DETENTION. THEN I TURN TO BARBARA LONG FOR THE LATEST IN SPORTS. AFTER THAT I SWITCH TO THE **CULTURAL** SECTION TO GET ANDREW SARRIS' VIEWS ON WHY PREMINGER IS MORE TALENTED THAN FELLINI, AND TO READ JONAS MEKAS EXPLAIN WHY THIS WEEKS UNDERGROUND MOVIE THAT EVERYBODY WALKED OUT ON WAS REALLY A **TEST** TO SEE IF WE DARED FACE THE **TRUTH**. NEXT I CHECK THE THEATRE PAGE TO SEE IF MICHAEL SMITH IS FEELING ALL RIGHT. THEN I READ NAT HENTOFF TO SEE WHO SOLD OUT, FOLLOWED BY JACK NEWFIELDS LATEST EXPLANATION OF THE NEW LEFT, FOLLOWED BY IRVING HOWE'S CORRECTION OF NEWFIELD. THEN I READ THE MAIL WHICH CORRECTS HARRINGTON, KEMPTON, BROWNMILLER, LONG, SARRIS, MEKAS, SMITH, HENTOFF, NEWFIELD, AND HOWE. THEN I CHECK FEIFFER TO SEE IF HE'S LEARNED HOW TO DRAW YET. I USUALLY FINISH WITH THE EDITORIAL ON DE SAPIO. THEN I WRITE MY LETTER ACCUSING THEM OF GOING ESTABUSHMENT.

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gangs and the motion of non-events, *Snow White* is as up to the minute as *Esquire* or *Ramparts*. Yet the novel isn't about these things, not about their meaning or even their phenomenological appearance. It is about their status in the imagination. Despotically contemporary, pressing forward with their claims on our attention in actuality, they are here abstracted into comic helplessness, deprived, by being turned into *mere* language, of their tyranny as fashionable facts. The book swirls past them on its deceptively wayward and highly conscious course.

It remains to be asked whether *Snow White*, having largely accomplished what it set out to do, exists now as full, confident new literature. Our habits are such that faced with fiction of this kind we fall back on an inquisition designed for subjects eager enough to stand up to it. Any ordinary novel can answer without hesitation or guile the questions whether it is "satisfying," whether it is shapely, convincing, whether it teaches us something useful about our lives, or is beautiful, consoling or provocative. If *Snow White* is none of these things, its pleasures and conquests must be of a new, although not necessarily unprecedented kind. I have tried to indicate what they are; what I haven't tried to do is establish a critical hegemony over the book, the kind of bored superiority to new attempts at fictional art so prevalent in our fashionable journals.

Which isn't to say that I think *Snow White* has no faults. Most blatant among them is its author's occasional inability to resist the temptation of an easy score, to resist cheap incongruity or the merely bizarre. Thus Barthelme can write about "pornographic pastry" and an "electric wastebasket" to destroy documents and people, speak of identifying someone by the "blueberry flan" on his lapel, have someone say "I am not an American citizen. I am under Panamanian registry," refer to a plan which is "packed away in the special planning humidor, constructed especially to keep the plan fresh and exciting."

Beyond this, he tends to a certain form of unseriousness which is not quite the same thing as high, conscious, daring frivolity. Bent on his purposes of retraction, on redeeming language from exhausted uses and servitude to other powers, and the novel from its anachronistic story-telling role, he falls under the sway of an ironical manner that sometimes ends by being its own hermetic justification. In wishing not to do what has been done before, he is not wholly willing to risk doing what has not been done before.

Kierkegaard wrote that "an intelligent man has the choice (*if* he has it) to be either ironical or radical." Barthelme's irony is radical, within the realm of literary process. And yet if he isn't radical outside it, if his irony precludes his being radical *towards the world*, this may be a measure less of his talent and will than of the world as it now stands. We go on expecting fiction, if we expect anything from it, to provide us with large, impregnable, vivid alternatives to, or confirmation of, our actual experience. The latter is beneath literature, the former seems at the moment beyond it. Perhaps Barthelme has no choice (as Kierkegaard left provision for) but to make his irony constitute his radicalism. In any case, *Snow White* cannot be asked to be the kind of novel that serves as myth, alternative cosmos, the imaginary re-creation or reorganization of the world. But it keeps the very possibilities of fiction alive, and by doing that shows us more of the nature of our age and ourselves than all those novels which never recognize the crisis of literature and therefore do nothing but repeat its dead forms.

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Hoffer as Historian

by Joseph Featherstone

There is always something refreshing about Eric Hoffer, even when, as in this new book of essays, he seems cranky instead of wise. Hoffer reminds us there can be other ways to reflect on society than those of the mandarins. He always writes lucidly, speaking his thoughts in an unmistakably personal voice, thus distinguishing himself from most academic writers, who touch on the same social questions but manage to muffle their meaning in yards and yards of flannel. Since he rarely discusses quantitative questions, he seldom runs the common risk of worshipping numbers, and you will never find him submitting questionable and undigested data to overrefined statistical manipulation and calling the result social science. Nor, although he has a weakness for abstract argument, does he engage in the kind of formal and deductive absurdities now so prevalent. His abstractions are those of the moralist and the aphorist, with no scientific pretensions, and they have little in common with the neo-scholastic fog that has obscured large areas of social thought, where the development of analytical categories has become an end in itself, a major industry devoted, in Kingsley Amis' wonderful phrase, to "casting pseudo-light on non-problems."

The Temper of Our Time
by Eric Hoffer
(Harper & Row; $3.95)

Hoffer is a San Francisco longshoreman whose first work, *The True Believer* (1951), is a *tour de force* of glit-

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tering ingenuity, in the form of a series of grim aphorisms on the men who make up modern mass movements. The hard, clear style reflects the influence of Montaigne, a cherished favorite of Hoffer's, and there is an echo of Montaigne's lonely enterprise of reason during an age of religious fanaticism in Hoffer's passionate reflections on an age of mass ideologies. In bold and arresting generalizations, he sketches the converts to nazism and communism as misfits, broken and cracked souls seeking wholeness, seeking a new self through membership in any movement that can satisfy a hunger for self-renunciation. The pitiless intelligence behind the book, its air of having been wrenched out of Hoffer's innards by the force of history, give it great power, and its psychological insights into one kind of modern person are of permanent value. But these considerable virtues fail to make up for the banality of Hoffer's view of modern history. Writing at the end of the '40's, himself a survivor of the Depression, migrant labor camps, and the docks, he set down in an idiosyncratic way the gist of what most Americans then and now believe about mass movements – that they are largely made up of sick people and cranks, and led by demonic, wicked leaders. He lacks historical imagination, the art of putting himself in other people's shoes in different times and contexts and to understand – which is different from excusing – why doing what they do makes sense to them. This lack does no harm to his mordant aphorisms on human nature, which are as permanently valid as those of La Rochefoucauld, but it cripples him as a commentator on recent history. It is impossible after reading *The True Believer* to imagine that communism could be a reasonable option for a sane person, any more than Islam or Christianity in their day, or that a mass movement could ever be seen by ordinary men and women as a rational alternative. *The True Believer* sold 500,000 copies and expresses the sum of American folk wisdom: Communism is a pathology, not a response to historical circumstances, and communists are morally and psychologically diseased. Today we are paying dearly for these simplicities. And with the perspective of time it is interesting to note how Hoffer's dour view of human nature in the mass – which was such a personal vision – fitted the Whiggish conclusions of American thought in the cold war period: a world of potential true believers could not be left to its own devices.

Then Hoffer published an even grimmer book of aphorisms, *The Passionate State of Mind* (1955). Later, the essays in *The Ordeal of Change* (1963) suggested that some of his dark pessimism was lifting, at least to the extent that he was ready to praise the American working masses and the culture he feels they have built. This idea that American culture is a creation of the masses – and not of intellectuals or elites, whom he scorns – is a theme in his most recent book, *The Temper of Our Time*. The essays here are for the most part restatements of his ideas on such subjects as work, automation, Negroes, and the quality of American life.

Canada's Changing Defense Policy, 1957-1963

The Problems of a Middle Power in Alliance

By JON B. McLIN

This is a study of several controversial issues in Canadian defense and Canadian-American relations, including Canada's participation in NORAD, its purchase of several advanced aircraft, and the decision to acquire nuclear weapons. In reconstructing and interpreting these events, Dr. McLin finds that much of the problem stemmed from a lack of clarity about Canada's purposes in alliance participation, which in its case serves ends that are more political than military. $8.50

Institutions in Modern America

Innovation in Structure and Process

Edited by STEPHEN E. AMBROSE

Each of these essays attempts to analyze one aspect of the extraordinary organizational developments that have occurred during the present century. Professors Chandler, Ropp, and Brody discuss the corporation, the military establishment, and the labor union, respectively, and find organizational structure to be of prime importance; Professor Leuchtenburg finds process to be more important than structure in his analysis of politics. But all agree that these developments have come about as a pragmatic response to daily needs. $5.95

Modern Yemen, 1918-1966

By MANFRED W. WENNER

This is the story of the power vacuum that followed Yemeni independence in 1918 and the events that led up to the establishment of the Yemeni republic in 1962. Professor Wenner describes the policies of the Imams Yahya and Ahmad, places them in the context of Yemeni development, and shows how the Yemeni rulers attempted to exploit European conflicts for their own ends. Throughout the study he sets U.S.-Yemeni relations against the background of post-World War II international politics, and concludes with an analysis of the civil war which began in 1962. $6.95

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The style lacks his usual distinction; the substance seldom rises above the level of lead articles in *The New York Times Magazine* with titles like "Whither Mankind?" and a photograph of the Lincoln Memorial at night or else a picture of an Indian peasant plowing. Like most of us, he is of two minds about automation, but he hopes that in the automated society people will turn to education to fill up their lives. There is a patronizing piece on "The Negro Revolution" which says nothing new, and an essay on how a period of drastic change produces people who are "juveniles" in a sense that he never makes very clear. The best of these essays is a curiously divided performance: in one half of it, Hoffer argues that intellectuals are coming to power all over, including America, and in the other half he tries to explain why intellectuals the world over hate America because it is the world's only true mass society. Apart from the broken-backed thesis and a lack of clarity – who are these intellectuals he speaks of? Good ideas mingle promiscuously with silly ones. And yet the book is suggestive: what if Hoffer were to accept Mary McCarthy's assertion that the war in Vietnam is the first occasion in history where American political science plays an important role? What would this particular example of vicious intellectualism do to his belief that America is the nation of the masses, and not the intellectuals?

Hoffer is at his best as an aphorist, a moralist in the tradition of writers like La Bruyère. He is a man whose knowledge of the world is extremely limited, but whose sensibilities extend out over our time like fine antennae. His genius is for extending the small particulars of his experience into universals, for fashioning moral truths out of his rage for logic. You can imagine him creating a whole gallery of types for the age, like the nobles and peasants, *les animaux farouches* of La Bruyère's cruel maxims. For all its weakness as a general historical explanation, *The True Believer* was a valid creation of one such modern type. What a pity, then, to see Hoffer spending his talents on this Sunday supplement trivia.

The Poverty of Nations

by Alex Campbell

Charged with the frightful responsibility of ensuring that $3.1 billion of foreign aid is not abused by the hungry non-American, non-communist half of mankind, the Office of the War on Hunger and the National Advisory Committee on Self-Help constantly ask: Are the recipients extending their best efforts? Are they fully aware of the virtues of private enterprise? The answer is usually "No." What to do? Jacob J. Kaplan sees aid as "an instrument of US power in the modern world," used to enforce "desired policy behavior." John Pincus expects that, in future, aid will "concentrate increasingly on raising farm output, lowering human fertility and educating the survivors." The *Christian Science Monitor* reported recently that the aid program is now operating a "tougher carrot-and-stick approach to the needy countries." To get aid, they must guarantee the safety of American investments against take-over, and assure that US profits can be taken out of their countries. Profits have been successfully taken out of South Vietnam, in the form of exorbitant prices and kickbacks, according to Senator John L. McClellan. South Vietnam gets about a quarter of the $3.1 billion, in addition to all the military spending there; Latin America, Africa and the rest of Asia share the remaining $2.3 billion.

The Challenge of Foreign Aid
Jacob J. Kaplan
(Praeger; $8.50)
Trade, Aid and Development
by John Pincus
(McGraw-Hill; $10)
Economic Policies Toward Less Developed Countries
by Harry G. Johnson
(Brookings Institution; $6.75)
US Trade Policy
by John W. Evans
(Harper & Row; $3.95)
Foreign Aid in International Politics
by John D. Montgomery
(Prentice Hall; $4.95)
Soviet Foreign Aid
by Marshall I. Goldman
(Praeger; $8.50)

As well as helping guarantee American investments and profits, stimulating American exports, and insulating the needy from communism, our $3.1 billion, spread over some 70 countries ranging in size from Dahomey to India, is expected to plant the seeds of private enterprise in all of them, then water them so they will bloom. This is asking a lot in return for very little; in the United States, Kaplan points out, gross new investment is at the rate of $100 billion a year. Further, the $3.1-billion is even littler than it seems, being about 40 percent optical illusion.

Most aid is now lent, not given, and has to be spent here, not where prices are lower. The combined effect, according to Harry G. Johnson, is to wipe out the supposed benefit; even when the loan is interest-free and for 15 years, the "beneficiary" would do better to borrow at five percent, then buy goods from the lowest bidder. A further gimmick, whereby half of aid shipments must use US ships, again cuts the real value of dollar aid; US ships may be more than twice as dear as other shipping.

All this makes aid seem a little weak at the knees. So do US trade practices toward needy countries. Restrictive US sugar quotas cost sugar growers $900 million; cotton textiles quotas destroy much of the value of the scarce capital that those countries invested in textile mills because they innocently imagined if they made textiles cheaper, we would be happy to buy them. Simultaneously, we scold them for lack of enterprise.

Tricky US tariffs (low on raw materials but as high as 40 percent on the same materials processed) cost poor countries $500 million a year. John W. Evans points out that the notorious "ASP" (American selling price, that bases a duty on the cost of the American item, not of the import) can be the equivalent of a 170 percent tariff. What Uncle Sam giveth with much self-praise, Uncle Sam tendeth to whisk away when he thinks nobody's looking.

Foreign aid has done enormous good;

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Pauline Betz Addie, one of the most renowned women tennis champions of our time (above, with her own teenagers), has written a new book, with a new approach to the teaching of tennis. She was well qualified to do this. Winner of the coveted Wimbledon crown, and four times U. S. women's national champion, she was undefeated in tours and tournaments as a professional from 1947 to 1960.

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for instance, John D. Montgomery says it has freed 75 million Indians and 58 million Indonesians from malaria. This is a vast economic as well as humanitarian gain; Kaplan hints that, dollar for dollar, such social spending boosts national incomes more than commercial investments does. (One of the nice things about undeveloped countries is that *people* still count there, since all the big problems affect people directly, and progress must come through people, not from computers and systems analyses).

The basic trouble with foreign aid, however, is that the donors seem to feel they have to invent justifications of it, because the undeveloped half of mankind, like the unskilled poor at home, have become expendable according to the tenets by which the donors live. A century ago these people were colonized with gunboats, but now who needs them? As Pincus says, "It seems somewhat easier to credit the Protocols of the Elders of Zion than the contention that capitalist prosperity is fueled today by the impoverished masses of Asia." Therefore, we pretend we are saving them from communism, while the Russians and Chinese aid them in order to spike our guns. The aided feel manipulated, and try to turn the tables; Pakistanis respond to Chinese overtures even while taking US aid, and Indonesians yell anti-communist slogans in a stadium built by Russia.

Marshall Goldman suggests the Soviet Union is slowly learning that cold-war aid pricks the donor's finger. So are we. But then aid is again left without a *raison d'etre*, so everyone pretends rapid economic growth is the goal. If it were, the West would spend at least $20 billion a year on aid (one percent of combined Western national incomes), which would have to continue for a generation, the length of Walt Rostow's "take-off" stage of economic growth, after which living standards double every 20 years. The actual figure for total Western aid is about .4 percent of GNPs, say $8 billion, or $4.8 billion when all the water is squeezed out.

Yet, pathetically, the needy scramble for the rich white table's crumbs, because these are as much as a third of *their* annual capital formation. To make them scramble harder, the wealthy West continually scolds them and preaches the virtues of enterprise and thrift to them – while cannily doing the vast bulk of its own investing and trading at home or with other, developed countries.

Apparently undeveloped mankind will for the most part have to raise themselves by their own bootstraps. They have begun to do so, tripling their steel manufacture and now producing more cement and almost as much electric power as Western Europe and North America did before the last world war, according to the president of the World Bank. They even may lick their population problem with loop factories and birth control clinics.

But other major social and economic changes that are probably inevitable may bring them into conflict with this country, for as Montgomery remarks, "Reforms are nearly always unpopular with someone, and usually someone influential." Take Latin America. Dean Rusk says the US defense budget this year equals the total gross national product of all Latin America. That proves how poor they are. But Ambassador Sol Linowitz says that US business, with an investment of $10-billion in Latin America, accounts for a third of Latin American exports and ten percent of Latin America's total output of goods. Will this country acquiesce in the kind of revolutionary changes that are likely to occur in Latin America, or will it use aid as an instrument of power, to ensure "desired policy behavior"?

The authors of these six informative books on foreign aid are, in order of appearance, a former government official, a RAND Corporation economist, a professor at the London School of Economics, another ex-official, a Harvard professor, and a Kremlinologist.

Being and Nothingness

by Julian Moynahan

Modern thought is at home with voids and finds no difficulty in the appalling idea that reality and self are, equally, sums and products of zero. Who am I when I am not taking a bath or talking to the cat? For Sartre I am nothing. The non-empirical self is "not that," it is "no thing." And for Yeats reality, when you come down to it, is "desolation." Perhaps one prefers the equivocations of Wallace Stevens, for whom reality is "the supreme fiction." Try looking behind that throwaway phrase and one will encounter cold comfort indeed and not cheap at the price.

Nil: Episodes in the Literary Conquest of Void During the 19th Century
by Robert Martin Adams
(Oxford; $6)
The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction
by Frank Kermode
(Oxford; $5.75)

Adams' distinction as a critic in previous books has been to find an original idea, usually having to do with dissonance or inconsistency, and to work it out fully with powerful scholarship and cool logic. In *Strains of Discord*, at a time when the New Critical rage was all for works that were "organic," "autonomous," "self-consistent," he showed that lots of literary masterpieces were marked by "open form," by various sorts of human, thematic and structural fragmentation. He then wrote an important book on *Ulysses* which taught the exegetes and the wider public the hard truth that Joyce's masterpiece was characterized, not marred, by numerous inconsistencies between its narrative surface and its systems of symbolism. The book was full of verbal, factual, semi-factual, unelucidatable junk, and if Joyce was a Creator giving laws to the universe he had fashioned, this God, nevertheless, had a good deal of the magpie or pack rat about Him.

The excellent idea of dissonance in the new book is "nil," "nothing," "a non-rendering of non-experience" turning up as dark shadow, spreading stain, widening fissure, in the literature of a century which tried hard to be confident, expansive, positive, progressive,

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which believed, by and large, in the possibility of congruence between a rational self and its worldly circumstances in language and in fact. Adams' authors – Senancour, De Quincey, Poe, Gogol, Melville, Flaubert, Mallarmé, among many others – are the great nay-sayers and underminers of 19th-century confidence; also they are forerunners of 20th-century artists and philosophers of the absurd and of nausea, like Sartre and Beckett, for whom Nothing is the whole, or at least the central, tune. Adams tries to cover too much ground, and the discrimination of many kinds of void and negativity obviously presents peculiar terminological difficulties, but the book is full of enchanting passages, arresting juxtapositions and hard home truths about, precisely, Nothing. Poe's "universe is transitory and sheer; it came from Nothing, it will return via a great vortex to Nothing, the cold wind of Nothing can be felt even now blowing through its sleazy texture." By contrast, Gogol's *Dead Souls* presents a reality that is "palpitating, pneumatic, fragmented" – a sort of slow explosion of wildly improvised imaginative experience into blankness.

Adams' greatest masters of voidness are perhaps the French poet Mallarmé and the American novelist Melville. The latter's *Confidence Man* was written to erect a "bottomless doubt" into a metaphysical principle, while *Moby Dick*, presenting a whale that is the sum of all enigmas, deliberately thwarts every system of inquiry and interpretation employed by Ishmael, the narrator, to pluck the heart out of the mystery. Mallarmé manipulates the void more coolly: "Nothing is an accepted and pervasive presence. . . . Interstices of void provide perspective depth, significant distance . . . between poetic constellations." The mystery of whiteness which so exercised Melville begins to sound like the blank page on which a poem's image clusters are laid out, and we come close to the modern situation where reality is a nothing Self (a Molloy, a Moran, a Malone, an Unnameable) writing down words that are fictions of a nothing Reality.

Frank Kermode's six lectures, given at Bryn Mawr a year or so ago, and now issued in amplified form as *The Sense*

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of an Ending, are mainly about paradigms of Apocalypse, ancient and modern, and simultaneously about man's tendency to create fictions which structure mere successiveness into patterns of human significance and make life endurable against the drear perspectives of ongoing time:

> "Men, like poets, rush 'into the middest,' *in medias res*, when they are born; they also die *in mediis rebus* and to make sense of their span they need fictive concords with origins and ends, such as give meaning to lives and to poems. The End they imagine will reflect their irreducibly intermediary preoccupations."

This short, unindexed book is packed with curious learning: a knowledge of Aristotle, Augustine, Irenaeus, St. Clement, Aquinas, Christian and Gnostic eschatology, Gestalt Psychology, Operationalism, the thought of Heisenberg and Bohr, and medieval theories of angelology will be useful for getting through the first three lectures. But the exposition is most interesting when it moves off the plane of theory to discuss modern literature and art (Lecture IV), and, in Lecture V, the genre of the novel as that species of human fiction which constantly attempts to break through its own paradigms and confront Reality – that desolation – face to face.

Broadly speaking, Kermode finds two phases of modernism in the arts: the tradition-respecting kind of new art which emerged before World War I and which includes the work of Joyce, Yeats, Lawrence, Eliot, Wyndham Lewis, Picasso, Schoenberg, *et al.*; and anti-traditional or schizmatic modernism, with which he associates Beat poetry, random music, the prose of Burroughs, the anti-art of Happenings, Light Shows and "cutup-foldin" experiments that repeat unwittingly and with diminished vigor the anti-bourgeois capering of Dada and early Surrealism. The Old Moderns, some of them, disgraced themselves by hankering after rigid, hierarchical, anti-humanist, *i.e.* fascist, societal forms, but redeemed their rotten politics in works of art which make humane sense of the human predicament. The Schizmatics, missing the main point about form, that it serves life by reinventing the cherishable world within the prison of temporality to which we are consigned until we die, emerge, on this account, as enemies simultaneously of art and life, diseased limbs on a vital, tragic, profoundly rooted tree.

This is an argument, a scheme rather, with which it is possible both to agree and disagree. A Joyce needs no defense and a Light Show needs no more recognition than this sort of thing is now getting from the mass media and the undergraduates; yet when we move away from extremes it seems likely that the only distinction to hold up in the long run is the one between good and bad. I find myself *equally* reluctant to reread the prose of *either* Jack Kerouac *or* Wyndham Lewis and expect to feel the same years from now.

The Sense of an Ending is a distressing book because it is so casually organized, so reluctant to conclude a number of arguments that barely get started, because it is so damnably hard to read and reread with a sense that one is really getting anywhere. Yet Lecture V, on "Literary Fiction and Reality" is wonderful – the pages on Sartre's *La Nausée* are indispensable – and shows that there is no better critic now writing in English than Kermode at his best, unless it is Robert Martin Adams, sounding his cool discordant notes from book to book and from time to time.

Claims of Privacy

by Irving R. Wechsler

Some of the present interest in privacy seems stimulated less by desire to protect it than by curiosity about the fruits of its violation. When we read how the Biblical Elders spied upon Susanna in her bath, we all acknowledge that Susanna was wronged. But most of us have felt some furtive identification with the Elders' point of view, which is why *Privacy and Behavioral Research* will gain a certain readership, though not the broad, serious attention it merits.

Privacy and Behavioral Research
(Government Printing Office; 15 cents)

This quietly notable report stems from growing concern outside and inside the government as the value we place on privacy comes increasingly into conflict with the value we place on the right of untrammeled scientific inquiry. It was prepared for the Office of Science and Technology by a panel of ten distinguished private citizens who brought to their task strong qualifications in education, law, psychiatry, biology, economics, sociology. In 30 pages, remarkably free from the stigmata of collective effort, they have given us a far-reaching discussion.

Scientific research has expanded hugely our knowledge of the physical universe, bringing new hopes and new hazards. Man is part of the universe that, as men, we must explore with all the instruments and skills we command. Can we learn to understand humanity in ways that won't diminish it?

Because *Privacy and Behavioral Research* is not directly addressed to the more sensational invasions of privacy, and because it offers no simple or easy counsel, its import and importance may find too little recognition. The panel "restricted its attention to issues of privacy arising in connection with those programs of data collection and study which are intimately associated with behavioral research." It took as its task to examine the complex issues involved and to propose guidelines for those "who are engaged in behavioral research or associated with its support and management." The report is thus directed primarily to some 35,000 behavioral scientists – including economists, anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists – engaged in research in the United States. It is also directed to the universities and other research institutions that sponsor such research or train the scientists who will conduct it; to the scientific associations and societies that have a major role in establishing professional ethics and shap-

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ing professional preoccupations; and to the professional journals that publish and discuss research. It speaks also to the federal government, which last year supplied some $300 million for the support of human behavioral research, with a wide range of projects undertaken by government agencies and laboratories themselves.

The pressures on privacy mount as we employ new techniques and resources to discover, investigate, assess, and measure "the qualities of man's mind, feelings, and actions." The researcher into human behavior is stalking an elusive quarry; sometimes he feels he must take his subject unaware. In one study, the report notes – a study to discover how well a family can survive an extended stay in a fallout shelter, "the investigation recorded all conversations, without the family's prior knowledge or consent." Studies run from the experiences of infancy to the experiences of bereavement. Informed social decisions require more and more precise information. Our burgeoning technology for processing information encourages us to centralize and integrate great stores of data, and makes them temptingly accessible. (If our data seem weightier than our analyses, and our curiosity outruns our insight, who is to say what is a correct proportion?)

As earlier anatomists sometimes brushed aside the mores of the community in their need for bodies, so an occasional scientist today disregards the dignity of the living in his zeal to dissect incorporeal man. But today's anatomist of mind and feeling has important allies: the majesty of science, and society's desperate need to enlarge its knowledge of human behavior.

Where and how is the line to be drawn between freedom to inquire, and "the privilege of making one's own decisions as to the extent to which one will reveal thoughts, feelings, and actions." Privacy, according to the viewpoint of the panel, is subtle, varying, and complex:

> "The usual examples of privacy are too gross to convey fully its nuances and strengths. . . . Actually, what is private varies for each person and varies from day to day and setting to setting. Indeed, the very core of the concept is the right of each individual to determine for himself in each particular setting or compartment of his life how much of his many-faceted beliefs, attitudes, and behavior he chooses to disclose."

The specific abuses cited are subordinate to the fundamental principles involved. The panel stands on high ground; it has not chosen this ground in order to make difficulties remote. Its report recognizes that when basic needs and values of society collide, hard choices must be made; they are going to stay hard choices; they can be more responsibly and perceptively made when we see them as hard choices.

The guidelines offered are essentially a call to responsibility, identifying and underscoring the part that individuals and institutions conducting or supporting behavioral research must play in assuring the protection of privacy:

> "The resolution of conflict between these strongly held values calls for all the resources of our institutions. Solutions cannot be legislated or imposed by decree. They must be worked out case by case. All who participate in this process, to be effective, must be perceptive of and sensitive to the respective strengths of the values that are in competition."

The panel points out the difficulties and limitations inherent in what might seem ready principles of protection – informed consent, anonymity, confidentiality. Some research, obviously, requires that its subjects be unwitting if its results are to be meaningful. How can we assure alertness to possible damage and design our procedures to minimize it? Individuals have feelings that they may not be able to acknowledge even to themselves; when does enforced self-confrontation become a damaging blow to dignity or an intrusion on privacy, even though the subjects are volunteers? How are we to ensure that information volunteered in one context not be used in another,

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tomorrow...?
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given the trend toward centralizing data? How is informed consent to be secured freely from those in "a condition of servitude or duress"?

> "The gravest invasions of privacy are likely to occur among the weakest and most helpless segments of the population – children, the very poor, the very sick, those who do not speak the language, and minority groups."

How sure a guide, the report asks, is the current judgment of the community (especially as it is ascertained by today's methods) when society's presumed need for some particular knowledge or insight prompts us to attempt a probe that may present some threat to privacy? If we are timid in our exploration, we become prisoners of the conventional wisdom. Certain "safeguards" currently placed on some government research the report considers open to question: "The arbitrary censorship of items because they are socially sensitive operates only to protect the agency from embarrassment." The panel sees more at stake:

> "Censorship merely to avoid offense to public sensitivities is totally inimical to a free society. Indeed the history of human progress is one of challenging established points of view. More often than not, such views survive the challenge and become better understood. But when the widely held view cannot withstand the challenge, whether or not the challenge touches public sensitivities, society learns and advances."

The claims of privacy are not made absolute. "Nor is every intrusion on privacy automatically unreasonable. A wise and discriminating society has found, and will continue to find, that many invasions of privacy are tolerable and necessary for the health of the community."

With equal emphasis, however, we are reminded that even inquiry apparently sanctioned by public acceptance must recognize that "one of the elements of our concept is the right of the individual to hold out against a community consensus."

It may seem to some that the report asks for too difficult a combination of wisdom and restraint, too refined a calculus of means and too lofty a definition of ends. But any narrower perspective offers no real service to privacy, to scientific research, or to civilization. The enemies of privacy emerge, not as scientific Peeping Toms or the intrusions of an encompassing technology, but as old and familiar enemies of human liberties: the view of men as masses, not individuals; the self-anointed's sure conviction that his ends justify his means – in short, callousness and arrogance. This reflective and sensitive report encourages the hope that our society – now so unstinting of its resources in the search for a lost flyer or a lost child – may some day show comparable concern for human dignity and human personality. Tenderness expanding, as well as knowledge, measures the march of civilization.

MOVIES

The Comedy of Depravity

"Isn't the moonlight *terrible!*" cried the young girl in *Our Town*, and we in the audience laughed at the comedy of sensual innocence, at the desires that made her fear the excitement of beauty. The images say it in *Accident:* the sunlight is terrible, it's *rotten*, because it makes the characters feel sexy. Joseph Losey uses sexual desperation and the beauty of Oxford in summer-

Accident
(Cinema V)

time to make our flesh crawl. It's a comedy of depravity, and we laugh all right, maybe not out loud but at least to ourselves. It's hard not to: Losey and his scenarist, Harold Pinter, are so knowingly sensual and we are so alerted to look for their knowingness. We laugh, also, at Pinter's barbed, mannered dialogue as a sign of recognition, a demonstration of our knowingness. We see how clever it all is. And I mean "clever" pejoratively – meaning *limited, thin,* meaning without the imagination of innocence. We're all "in the know" and corrupt together in the sheer physicality of it all – the triangular compositions of legs and crotch, the lines of dialogue that ooze out of sweating faces. But, at least, it *is* clever. *Accident* is nasty fun – a fascinating, rather preposterous movie, uneven, unsatisfying, but with virtuoso passages of calculated meanness.

Separately, Pinter and Losey have similar weaknesses (of organization, purpose, dramatic clarity) and they share an inability to achieve a dramatic climax. They have almost the same specialty: Pinter can create scenes that are loaded with unspecified anxieties and emotions; Losey is a master of sloth, and he can make the atmosphere of a scene thick with loathsome erotic overtones. As Losey's target is often the middle or upper classes, his erotophobia is often taken to be an expression of social consciousness, but his purposes are often so opaque that, for example, in *King and Country* the homoeroticism took over and the military argument got lost. The union of Pinter and Losey is almost incestuous: it produces a doubling of their defects and their specialties. *Accident* is so full of ambiance and the director and writer seem to have so little sense of what to do with it that they just use it for its own sake. Their work is full of "suggestions" and "implications" about marriage and class and education and violence; they use malice and cruelty as if to speak volumes of truth. The movie is saturated with "meaning," it drips attitudes.

Accident is effective because it's almost all set within their specialty, but although what they do is a formidable accomplishment in terms of current movies (and *Accident* is the best new movie around), it's too easy for art. That father who forgets his daughter's name is the Provost of a college: it's too easy to get audience response by pointing up the enervation and bestiality of educated and/or rich people. Are they (and Frederic Raphael in *Two*

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for the Road) muckraking for us or for themselves? If it's for themselves, then maybe they really dig that muck – and ought to look into *why*.

Albee gave us Maggie and Jiggs at the old U; Losey and Pinter give us a black sudser – Oxford as Peyton Place, full of lust, hatred, promiscuity ("three men in love with the same girl . . . who is this strange seductress who has disrupted the peaceful lives of the respected citizens of Peyton Place?" Can Stephen and Rosalind go on as before? Will Charley's wife Laura recover her wits and come in out of the rain?). It's good theatrical gimmickry – not, however, to be confused with masterpieces, as the mixed media of reviews and advertising might suggest. We now have generations of moviegoers who have never been to a burlesque show and who react to jokes about age and potency as if they were the latest invention of art movies. And as they didn't go to the theatre much either, they don't know that the comedy of manners was almost always the comedy of bad manners, and that dirty gamesmanship is the staple of melodrama. But critics are supposed to have been born at least the day before yesterday and to be able to sort out what's new in a work from what's old. And to know that schtik is an anagram of kitsch.

The protagonist of *Accident* is the nothing-heart, not-much-of-a-man at work and play. As the philosophy-don husband, Dirk Bogarde is just about perfect: he acts like a man who's just had a spinal tap. He's a virtuoso at this civilized, stifled anguish racket, better even than Ralph Richardson used to be at suppressed emotion because he's so much more ambiguous that we can't even be sure what he's suppressing. He aches all the time all over, like an all-purpose sufferer for a television commercial – locked in, with a claustrophobia of his own body and sensibility. Bogarde looks rather marvelous going through his middle-aged frustration routines, gripping his jaw to stop a stutter or folding his arms to keep his hands out of trouble. The Ralph Richardson civilized sufferer was trying to spare others pain, but Bogarde isn't noble: he goes through the decent motions because of training and because of an image of himself, but he's exquisitely guilty in thought – a mouse with the soul of a rat. He compulsively tells little half-lies that he intends to make true and hesitates before each bit of truth he calculatingly parts with. If only Losey and Pinter would let him out now and then! A man can stay in a continual, acute state of suppression and humiliation only so long. If Bogarde plays this role again, he may wind up his career touring backwaters of the Commonwealth countries in *The Browning Version*.

So often men like Pinter and Losey who are acclaimed on the "less is more" principle are really giving us much too much – but all of the same kind. Pinter is indirect and Losey provides treatises on how rolling green fields and beautiful buildings can be made ominous. They sustain interest by portent, but portent without any clear intent. In this, too, *Accident* resembles sudsers, and in the manufactured incidents (the visit to the television studio), the worked-up parallels (Laura with Rosalind).

Accident also has many resemblances to Pinter's play, *The Homecoming:* each has its philosophy professor; each has its enigmatic female – the respectable whore to whom all the important male characters are attracted. Each is a satire of home and in the movie, as in the play, Pinter's peculiar talent for dislocating family life and social and sexual relations to a kind of banal horror has some recognizable truth in it, and his cadences are funny and reverberating. He's a new – hideously sophisticated – kind of cliché expert. He deals with characters who give each other nothing willingly, who defend their privacy against attack with evasions, repetitions, silences. And we laugh to show that we appreciate what is unsaid – the underside of what is said. The focus in *Accident* is on the men, who are trying to get one up on each other; the women (Jacqueline Sassard as the love-object, Anna, and Vivien Merchant as the wife, Rosalind) are passive and sly. (We must partly guess at this from Miss Sassard's inept performance.) We laugh because of the absence of goodwill. In the theatre

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HARVARD

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and movies, truly dedicated selfishness is amusing; and it is somehow liberating to laugh at a family of monsters. Isn't that the secret of the success of plays like *Tobacco Road* and *The Little Foxes* and the comic mechanism of last season's *A Lion in Winter*? A melodramatist like Lillian Hellman places the monsters among the rich and decadent, among white Southerners or Nazis, and these people who *lust* are contrasted with the good, straight, affirmative people who are for civil rights and Life and who have healthy, decent impulses.

Pinter (in *The Servant*, in his play *The Homecoming*, and now in *Accident*) carries this traditional device further by omitting any sympathetic characters. What makes for all the lust in his works is that if the people have no tender or compassionate feelings, if they're not decent enough for love, then any sex impulses can only be lust. Elizabeth Hardwick has written that in *The Homecoming* Pinter "avoids exposition in the ordinary sense and is not seduced by affection for pieties." True enough, but perhaps he is seduced by disaffection for pieties? Pinter is so consistent that there's not a single likable character in any of these three works: what happens, on screen as on stage, is that in a competition of monsters the most fiendish and obscene are the most amusingly theatrical and become the favorites of the audience – the belligerent, lecherous father and his son, the pimp, in *The Homecoming*; Stanley Baker's swinish Charley in *Accident*. Charley's best line is the vile "What room is everybody in?" This is fine with me. I enjoy it because I enjoy fancy kitsch. But I don't think Pinter's solution – which is ingeniously theatrical but nothing more – should be overrated or confused with an *artistic* solution. (I don't mean to suggest that Pinter has claimed to discover new forms; but that claim has been made for him.) We are so aware of the absence of goodness and of the usual melodramatic conflict that we wait eagerly to see what he will provide in its place. So far he hasn't come up with anything, and that's why one leaves *Accident* as one left *The Homecoming* – dissatisfied and perhaps a little indignant. Like Albee, Pinter is good at dialogue with a sense of drama in it; for the rest of what makes drama, Albee provides explanations which don't explain the charge of the dialogue, Pinter is cagier. But though he's smart enough to avoid the adversary approach to good and evil, he rattles some very dry bones from the theatre basement: woman as eternal, mysterious whore-wife-mother; the man of thought who is cut off from the instinctual; etc. Those old bones aren't going to grow any meat.

In movies Pinter doesn't avoid exposition – he's just no good at it. His talent is for cryptic, "suggestive" dialogue and for ghastly scenes; in *Accident*, as in *The Pumpkin Eater* and *The Servant*, when he tries to use dramatic narrative methods, he uses them so badly that the movies fall apart. In *Accident*, it shouldn't be that difficult to make at least the accident itself relate to the characters and plot. Nothing in the movie would be much changed if there were no accident (the only revelation – that the philosophy-don would "take advantage" of a girl in shock – isn't convincing anyway).

Off screen Losey and Pinter, perhaps following a course set for them by the enthusiasts for *The Homecoming*, have taken the position that (as Pinter said when queried about the movie) "I have no explanation for anything I do at all." This might give the impression that the movie has been written out of the unconscious, but the movie is so carefully plotted that you can watch the preparations being made and chart how each event or reaction was led up to. And in some cases, like the don

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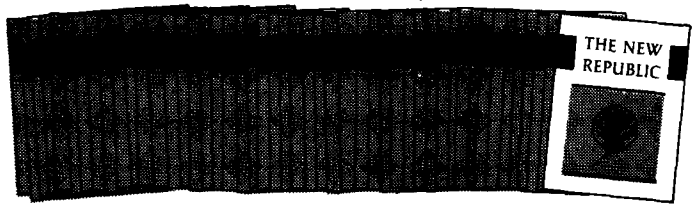

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raping the girl while the phone is ringing to tell him his wife is having a baby, even those construction men who lay out Sodom and Gomorrah in weekly segments might be ashamed. But although it can be charted by a viewer (and, no doubt, was cunningly planned), the plotting often doesn't work dramatically – the viewer can only piece it together *afterward.* (For example, when Stephen returns from London and finds Charley and Anna in his home, it takes too long to figure out what's going on, and the obfuscation of Anna's face and her appearance in Rosalind's clothes are merely chic.)

Losey and Pinter work best close-in, and their smaller version of the Antonioni-Fellini terrible party – the long, drunken Sunday house-party, with people sitting down to supper when they're too drunk to eat – is perhaps the most shocking of movie parties because it's so exactly, familiarly horrible. They're less successful at show pieces – like the affectation of their reprise of *Marienbad,* with Delphine Seyrig as a dumb blonde (with what sounds like Vivien Merchant on the voice-over dialogue). And the big exhibition piece – "aristocrats" playing some nasty game in the great hall of a castle – tells less than a flushed face in close-up. The final crash – a fancy, ambiguous finish – is a cheat.

I enjoyed *Accident,* but I don't really *like* it. It has an archness which I associate with a kind of well-written but fundamentally empty novel. *Accident* is, despite what Losey and Pinter say in it, for and of "the upper classes." They use a lot of craftsmanship and technique to pave the old dirt roads.

PAULINE KAEL

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Richard Gilman, *for several years drama critic of* Newsweek, *will in the future be reviewing books for* The New Republic *and drama in collaboration with our drama editor,* Robert Brustein. Julian Moynahan *is Professor of English at Rutgers University; his latest novel is* Pairing Off. Irving R. Wechsler *is currently Federal Executive Fellow at the Brookings Institution.*

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Public TV

Sirs:

As a visitor to your country from Britain, I read with some astonishment the article "Public TV and the Networks" (May 13) by your London Correspondent. "Few would dispute," he says, "that British television has benefited from the introduction of the commercial service" which since September 1955 has been the rival of the BBC. On the contrary, this view is widely questioned, although Independent Television (*i.e.* commercial) in Britain is very profitable and has demonstrated its capacity to gain and hold a large viewing public. There are abundant statistics to show that the BBC is the more widely respected service, has a far larger share of the audience on national or festive occasions, excels among other things in its coverage of sport and, perhaps surprisingly, in the early evening comedy series with which each channel seeks to capture the mass audience. The Pilkington Report on British Television in 1960 indicted the commercial service for lowering the standard of television and published all the evidence on which its conclusions were based. Consequently the government awarded a second channel to the BBC. (The point should be made, however, that Independent Television also produces some programs of high quality.)

Your London Correspondent next states that "Independent Television usually takes some 60 percent of the audience quite effortlessly." This is quite untrue: the competition is fierce, and for some time the balance has hovered around 50 and 50.

The rest of his article is concerned with the news service and the recommendations of your Carnegie Report in this area. Both the BBC and Independent Television News provide service whose accuracy and impartiality are seldom questioned, just as the news service of British radio, a BBC monopoly, has a worldwide reputation for truthful reporting. The news bulletins last from five to fifteen minutes and

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Since he recommends that public television in the United States should concentrate on a few centralized sources of supply and so maintain a professional standard, it is strange that he should so vilify the television news service of another country which does exactly this.

Michael Wynne
Education Officer, BBC

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American Craftsmanship

Sirs:

Your observations concerning the Apollo tragedy supplemented by Mauldin's brutal pictorial summation of "American Craftsmanship" (May 13) merits further comment.

The shock of the tragedy may result in a safer spacecraft, but it will not cure a work sickness that afflicts almost the whole of American industry, which has converted whatever concern it ever had for craftsmanship into mere advertising slogans. Planned obsolescence became a convenient economic rationale for slipshod design and workmanship in the vast flow of products which consumers struggle to maintain in usable condition.

If American industry is ever to manufacture products that show a concern with craftsmanship, it will not come from fads in "quality control" or a vast system of inspectors who look for surface defects in production. There must be a basic change in attitudes that begins with education of young people in high standards of intellectual, artistic and manual workmanship. Experience in introducing teenagers to work indicates that they respond eagerly to the appeal of craftsmanship – the "instinct for workmanship" as one American philosopher referred to it. The educational system can begin by discarding its preoccupation with marks as the primary measure of intellectual achievement.

Jerome Count
Pittsfield, Mass.

A Bone to Pick

Sirs:

There is an error in my piece "The Bone in Meany's Throat" (May 6) that I wish to correct. I quoted from a letter by Paul Schrade, western area director of the United Auto Workers, which said that the AFL-CIO convention in December 1965 had called for a 50 percent increase in social security benefits. But Schrade neglected to mention a section of the resolution which clearly says that since these increases would be substantial, "they may need to be accomplished in several steps over the next few years." His accusation, therefore, that George Meany was "tinkering" with the mandate of the convention by backing a first-stage increment of 20 percent simply has no basis in fact.

Whether or not Meany is pursuing a generally less aggressive social security reform than the convention intended – as the Reuther people still insist – is another question. But Schrade's description of the resolution as passed was incomplete, and my error was in failing to check his material against the convention record.

Hobart Rowen
Washington, D.C.

A Percy/Hatfield Ticket

Sirs:

By communicating almost exclusively with those of identical outlook, the New Left and the Far Right get a distorted view of their power and numbers. A remedy for the former's delusion is a trip to Cincinnati or Tulsa; a remedy for the latter's, a trip to New York or San Francisco. A King/Spock third- or fourth-party ticket seems to me futile. I think it more realistic to begin now creating a groundswell of Independents for Percy/Hatfield, since I think a moderate Republican offers our only hope for sanity in '68.

W. R. Mobley
Glen Ridge, N.J.

Circumventing the Administration

Sirs:

You have commented cogently on the ignoble efforts of the Johnson Administration to prevent Americans from contributing to medical aid for civilians hurt in North Vietnam and in areas held by the NLF in South Vietnam. May I suggest that among other ways of circumventing these efforts the following is worth trying? Send money directly to The International Committee of the Red Cross, Geneva, Switzerland, accompanying it with this form of words: "I enclose a check for $..... to be applied to civilian medical relief wherever in the world you judge the need to be most urgent, including any part of Vietnam, North and South." As a US citizen I have

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used this form of words myself, though without effectively testing the immunity of the device to obstruction, since my check was drawn on a Canadian bank account. However, the device does seem to be one that the Administration would be unlikely to challenge. It leaves judgments about need and appropriate measures up to a neutral agency whose devotion to humanitarian purposes can hardly be questioned.

David Braybrooke
University of Toronto

TRB states that "the great mass want a tougher war, and oppose Johnson because he won't give it to them." The clear implication is that LBJ has his hands tied to a hawk policy by the tethers of public opinion. I believe that both the statement and the implications are errors for at least two reasons. One, there is some evidence that most of those opposed to LBJ's conduct of the Vietnam war are "doves" rather than "hawks." Two, and more important, there is rather substantial evidence that the President is in a position to create almost any kind of consensus on the war that he chooses.

With respect to the first point, a Gallup Poll of June, 1966 reported that among those opposed to LBJ's conduct of the war there were more who endorsed the statement, "we should get out" than the statement, "we should be more aggressive."

With respect to the second point the general empirical confirmation of the hypothesis that the President can and does dictate the very policy which he pretends to follow consists of: 1) the fact that the President's popularity generally rises right after he either escalates or deescalates the war, as for example right after bombing pauses and bombing resumptions, and 2) the fact that the public has reversed previously held positions after some reversal in policy or action on the part of the President, as can be noted in the virtually diametrically opposite proportions endorsing American military action against the "Communists in Vietnam" in 1954, when Eisenhower was opposed to it in his disagreement with Dulles, and in 1965, after Johnson had already sent in combat units and rationalized it.

It is also important to note that the majority no longer support LBJ, and even among his supporters substantial majorities also support specific deescalation measures. For example, in the NORC-Stanford Poll of 1966, in which most people (61 percent) supported LBJ, 88 percent were willing to negotiate directly with the VC, 70 percent would approve a UN negotiated truce, 54 percent approved of a plebiscite even if the VC should obtain control, and 52 percent said they were willing to accept the VC in a coalition government.

To continue to present the theory that the public are hawks and to continue to assert that LBJ's hands are tied by this fact is to be hasty and superficial to say the least. But this is not what bothers me so much. What especially troubles me is that LBJ, and apparently George Romney, believe this stuff themselves. The result, I fear, will be a continuing escalation in which the President and other national leaders will be taken in by the public opinion which they, themselves, have created.

Vernon H. Edmonds
Florida State University

Education in Appalachia

Sirs:

I was amused by James Ridgeway's "alternative idea . . . to set up a university in the hills of eastern Kentucky" (May 13). "This would bring a middle class into the area," he says, "and quite probably would have an improving effect on the surrounding schools and hospitals. An immediate demand for goods and services would be created that in turn should lead to creating a variety of jobs for local people."

As a university employee in an area similar to eastern Kentucky, I cannot see that our university has had any effect whatsoever on surrounding schools. Last fall our county defeated a progressive school bond issue by a vote of two-and-a-half to one. As to goods and services required by the proposed academic middle class, who would supply these? There are no capitalists among the unemployed capable of opening appliance shops. And there are no skilled laborers capable of repairing TV sets. Custodial jobs would of course be available and the unem-

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ployed miners could replace fluorescent tubes, clean toilet seats, and burn freshman compositions. But this would hardly be an answer to the problem of unemployment.

If, as Mr. Ridgeway suggests, it will take 20 years to complete the proposed Appalachian highway system, why not put four times as much money into the project and complete it in five years? As far as the threat of depopulation is concerned, eastern Kentucky, as is most of Appalachia, is pretty much depopulated now.

The moral issue concerning strip mining is not, as Mr. Ridgeway implies, the attempt to force people off the land so that it can be more flagrantly exploited, but rather the issue is how much longer the menace of strip mining can be tolerated at all. You can't have everything, but you *can* have nothing. *Lloyd Davis, Editor*
Appalachian Review
Morgantown, W.Va.

Who Will Elect the Next President?

Sirs:

Discussing the possibility that the House of Representatives may choose the President in 1968, TRB's column of May 20 adds, "It has happened." It has indeed – in 1800 and again, despite the 12th Amendment, in 1824 – but not, as TRB says, in 1876. On that occasion there was no disputing that one of the two nominees had won a majority in the Electoral College. What was in dispute was which nominee had won that majority. The matter was settled not by the House voting by states but by a special commission composed of Representatives and Senators and Supreme Court Justices awarding the disputed electoral votes to one of the nominees.

Perhaps more serious than the factual error is the error in interpretation. As TRB says, it appears that there was a behind-the-scenes bargain. That bargain, however, involved more than the trade of the Presidency for the non-enforcement of Negro rights legislation. In addition the South received promises of patronage and, more important, of subsidies to southern railroads. *Nelson Van Valen*
Beloit College

Christians and Jews

Sirs:

It is most unfortunate that Philip P. Brown, in his letter (May 20) commenting on the Rev. Roger Hazelton's review (May 6) of Rabbi Ben Zion Bokser's book *Judaism and the Christian Predicament*, chooses to accuse Rev. Hazelton of perverting history and defaming Judaism, for he totally misinterprets or ignores the spirit in which Mr. Hazelton wrote his review.

It is pointless to charge as guilty what is in the past because, as Mr. Hazelton stated, corporate, inherited guilt is a fiction. In any case, since we do not apply it to political states (who blames England for encouraging the slave trade in the 17th century?), it would be inconsistent for us to apply it to religion. . . . Anyone who has any understanding of 19th and 20th century European history would not think of imputing to Christianity (or Judaism) the outrages of Nazi Germany. At the very least, nationalism, racism, militarism, and romanticism must be considered as the formative influences and defeat in the First World War and economic depression as the catalysts. Moreover, since people the world over were horrified by the atrocities committed by Germany, and since many of them, too, were Christian, does it make any sense at all to consider Christianity culpable for the shortcomings of western civilization? *Paul Weinbaum*
Brooklyn, N.Y.

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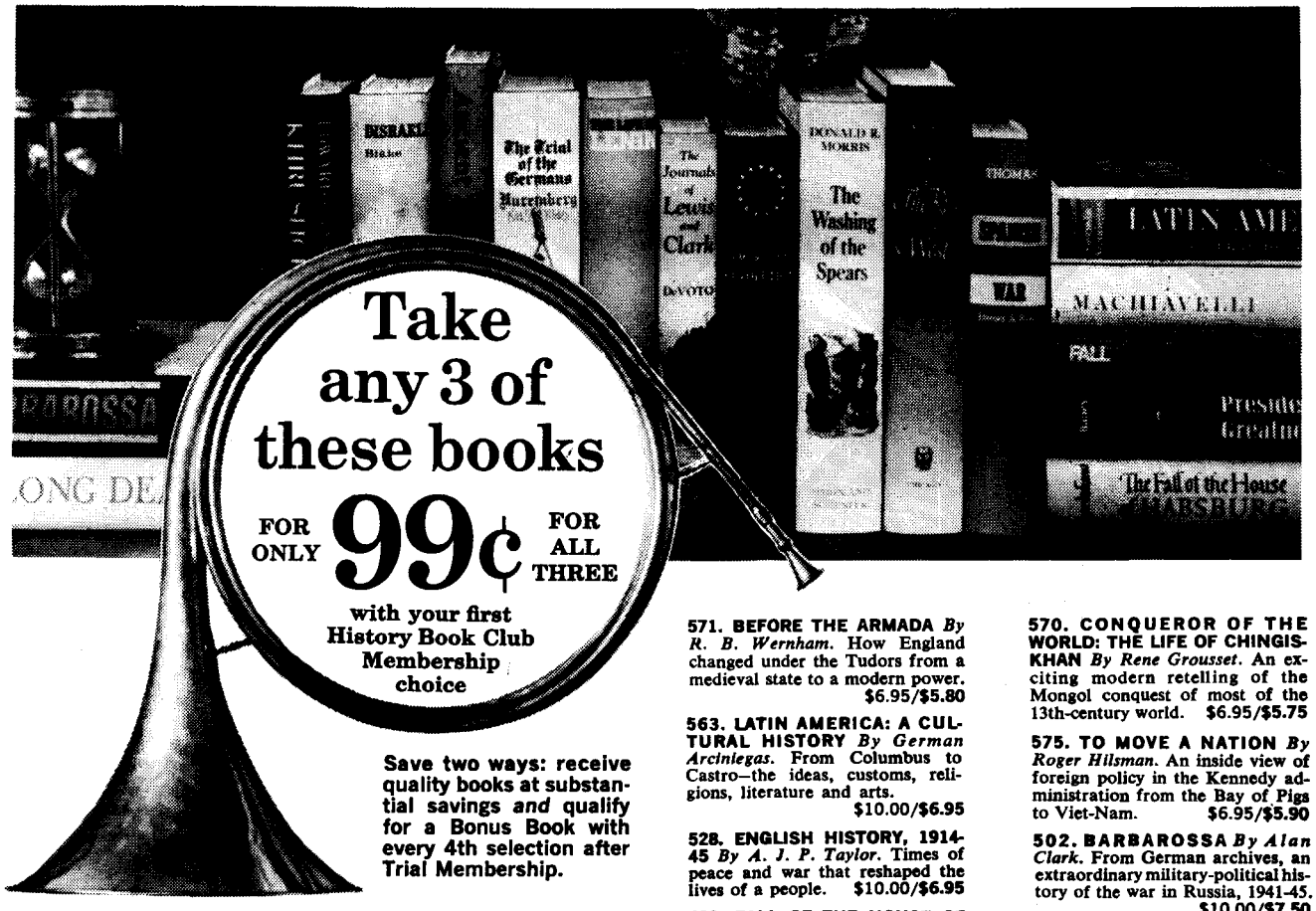
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